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**UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS INTERNATIONAL
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1979**

THE
DISCOVERY
AND
CONQUEST
OF THE

MOLUCCO and PHILIPPINE Islands.

CONTAINING,

Their History, Ancient and Modern,
Natural and Political: Their Description, Pro-
duct, Religion, Government, Laws, Languages,
Customs, Manners, Habits, Shape, and Inclina-
tions of the Natives. With an Account of many
other adjacent Islands, and several remarkable
Voyages through the *Streights of Magellan*, and
in other Parts.

*Written in Spanish by Bartholomew Leonardo de Argensola,
Chaplain to the Empress, and Rector of Villahermosa.*

Now Translated into English: And Illustrated with a Map and several Cuts.

L O N D O N, Printed in the Year, 1708.

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Advertisement

Concerning this Work in general.

IT will be needless to trouble the Reader with a tedious Introduction, shewing the usefulness of this sort of Books, several others having already treated of that Subject, no less Learnedly than Fully, so that it would only be repeating what has been frequently said already, and what most Men are sufficiently convinc'd of; besides that, it is not design'd to fill up this small Volume with Perswasives to buy it; but rather to proceed directly to the matter propos'd. But, lest the Design should be misapprehended, it will be necessary, in as few Words as may be, to make all Persons sensible of it. Nothing is more certain, than that many curious Pieces have escap'd the search of those who have publish'd Volumes of this Nature, either because they are grown extremely Rare; or, perhaps, those who Translated were not Masters of the Languages in which they were Writ, or else for want of sufficient Information; since, as no Man can know all Things, neither can any be acquainted with all Books. These are the Things now design'd to Entertain the Publick, with assurance that nothing shall be offer'd, but what is valuable, and approv'd of by Learned and Ingenious Persons. It is needless, and even impracticable, in this First Part to give a Catalogue of the Books intended to be Translated; needless, in Regard that being very rare, few are yet acquainted with them; and impracticable, because several not yet known to the Undertakers, may hereafter come to Hand: As also, by reason that some which are not to be found in *England*, are now sent for Abroad, and considering their Scarcity, and the Hazards of the Sea, it is impossible to determine when they will be had. Besides, it is not convenient to Publish the Names of such Books, at a time when so many are gaping to catch at any thing they can hope to make an Advantage of, tho' others have acquir'd some sort of right to it, by declaring they have such a Work in Hand. Every Piece that is Publish'd, will, it is hop'd, Recommend it self, and be an Inducement to the Buyer to purchase the next, for which reason it will be superfluous to add any thing in their Commendation. Neither is this Work confin'd to Translations, the Undertakers having already a prospect of some Original Manuscripts of the same Nature, Written by Ingenious and Able Persons, who have Travel'd, and not taken care to publish their Observations. The Translations will be out of all Languages, which can afford any thing an-

An Advertisement concerning this Work in General.

swerable to what is propos'd, that is, excellent in it self, and never before seen in *Engl^{ish}*.

As for the Method here intended, it is to Publish every Month, as much as will make a Book of Twelve Pence, or Eighteen Pence, according as it can be contriv'd, without breaking off abruptly, to leave the Relation main'd and imperfect, for as scarce any of the Books to be Translated are so small as to come into the compass of a Month; so of necessity they must be divided into several Parts, according to their Bulk. Now each Month being Sold Such'd, every Buyer may afterwards Bind them up when he has an Author complet, and therefore great care shall be taken, that the one may end, and the next begin, so as to cause no Obstacle, or Confusion in Binding. All the Books shall be adorn'd with proper Maps, and useful Cuts, that is, not with Representations of Battels, or Draughts of Places made according to the Engravers Fancy, but with true Delineations taken upon the Spot, where any such are to be had; the real Habits of the People; Birds, Beasts, Plants, &c. Whether every Month will afford any of these, cannot be promised, since they are to be inserted in their proper Places, for substantial Information, and not dispers'd at Will to embellish the Book, and divert the Ignorant. Therefore some Months will contain more, others fewer, and some perhaps none, with assurance that the Charge shall not be spar'd where they are requisite, and such are to be had as can be vouch'd to be Genuine. Thus every Person will, at so small a Price, as has been mention'd have a Taste of the Author propos'd to be Translated, and of the Performance, before he launches out more Money to purchase the whole, and has every Month something New to Divert and Inform; which, tho' at first it may look slight, as being a Stitch'd Pamphlet, will soon grow upon into a Compleat Work, as if Printed all at once, and be no less becoming any Gentlemans Study, or Library. No Author is design'd to be Abridg'd, but fairly, and carefully Translated at large; but if any should hereafter be thought fit, for any particular Reasons to be so dealt with, it shall not be done without the Advice and Approbation of sufficient Judges, and the Publick shall have Notice of it, that no Man may have just cause to Complain he is any way Impos'd on. Every Author shall have a particular Preface giving some Account of Him, and his Work, with a fair Title, for the Binding of him up conveniently into a Volume, and every Month, as has been said, so contriv'd, that there may be no Casina, or other Eyefore in the Book. A small number will be Printed on a large fine Paper, for such as are more Curious, at one half more than the Price of the Common Sort.

The next Book Publish'd in this Collection, will be *Diarium Italicum*: Or, Singular Remarks upon Ancient Monuments, Collections of Rarities, &c. made in a Journey through *Italy*: With variety of Cuts and Figure. By the R. F. *Bernard de Montfaucon*, Monk of the Order of *S. Benedi^{ct}*, of the Congregation of *S. Maur*.

THE PREFACE.



OUR Author, Bartholomew Leonardo de Argenfola, was a Learned Clergyman, and as such employ'd by the President and Council of the Indies to Write this History. He calls it, The Conquest of the Molucco Islands, without Enlarging any further in his Title, tho' at the same time his Work contains their first Discovery, their Description, the Manners, Customs, Religion, Habit, and Political and Natural History; with all the Wars, and other Remarkable Accidents in those Parts, since they were first known to Europeans, till their Reduction under the Crown of Spain. In Speaking of them he Occasionally runs out to give the same Account of the Philippine Islands, and of several others in those Eastern Seas. This is frequent in Spanish Books, wherein we generally find much more than the Titles promise, contrary to what is Practis'd with us, who strive to fill up a Title Page with abundance of Inviting Heads, the least part whereof is Treated of in the Body of the Work, or at best so Superficially, that scarce any more can be made of them there, than was in the Frontispiece.

For the Compiling of this Work the Author, being Employ'd by the Authority abovemention'd, had the Command of all Authentick Manuscript Relations, which were either in the Kings Custody, or in Private Hands; besides the Testimony of such Persons then Living, as had been Eye-Witnesses to any part of what he delivers. His Design was only to Write the Conquest of those Islands, by King Philip the Third of Spain; but considering how few were acquainted with them, and that of Consequence most Readers would be at a loss to know where, or what these Moluccos were, he Judiciously Resolv'd to bring down his History from its proper Source. To this End he begins with the Antient, and Fabulous Original of their Kings; then comes to the Discovery of them by Europeans, and proceeds to the Wars between them, and with the Natives, for the Possession of those so much coveted Dominions.

The Preface.

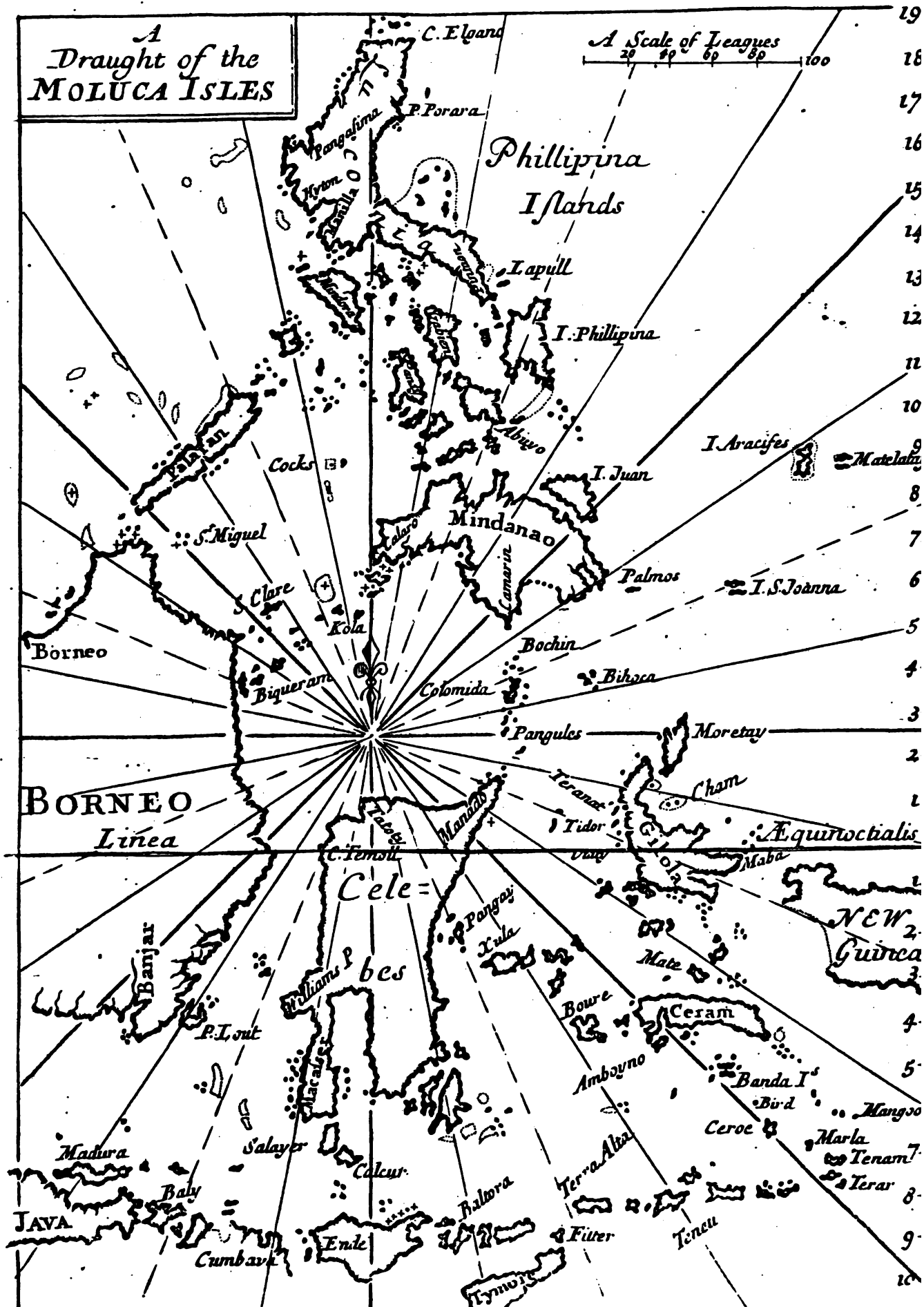
His Description of them is very Exact; That of the Cloves, their principal Commodity, no less Curious; and that of the other Product and Animals, Inferior to neither. The Wars carrying him over from one Place to another; he gives a short Account of the Islands Papdas, and that of Celebes. The Spaniards, to avoid passing through the Portuguese Sea, attempted to settle Trade at the Moluccos, by the way of the Streights of Magellan, which gives occasion to Argensola to entertain us with a particular Account of the Spanish Fleet sent into the said Streight, under the Admiral Sarmiento, which has been hitherto very Imperfectly Deliver'd in English, tho' very Remarkable, and full of Surprizing Accidents. In short, not to stretch out this Preface, with the Subject of the Work, we shall find in it a brief Description of the Island Sumatra; of the vast Empire of China; of all the Philippine Islands, and those of Ceylon, Banda, Java, and many others of less Note. Nor does he omit to speak of the Dutch Voyages; and Undertakings of Sir Francis Drake, and other English Adventurers; and Embellishes the whole with such variety of pleasing Incidents, that few Books of Travels afford so much Profitable Entertainment, with such good Authority.

No Author ever had a better Reputation, among all that Understand, and have had the good Fortune to Meet with him; for being so Valuable, he is extraordinary Scarce, rare to be met with in Spain, and consequently much more in England. This may perhaps be the main Reason why he has not yet been Translated, and being so Valuable, he cannot miss of that Reception which he has found in the Original. But it is not intended to prepossess the Reader, who is left to make his own Judgment, and therefore a long Preface is designedly avoided, that he may the sooner enter upon so Useful and Diverting a Work. It is not improper, nevertheless, to Advise the Reader not to take notice of some Reflections in Point of Religion, and in other Cases, considering the Book was Writ by a Spaniard, and that it was not proper to Omit, or Alter any thing, where a Fair, and Entire Translation is promised. Besides, That these are very few, and inconsiderable, and consequently not worth observing, as indeed the generality of Judicious Readers will be sufficiently satisfy'd, and this Caution is given for their Sake, whom perhaps Passion, or overmuch Zeal may move to condemn a Work on such an Occasion, when they can find no other matter to Carp at.

THE

A
Draught of the
MOLUCA ISLES

A Scale of Leagues



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK I.



Write the Conquest of the *Molucco* Islands by King *Philip* the III. of *Spain*, and the reducing of their Kings to their former Subjection, to his Predecessors, by Don *Pedro de Acunba*, Governour of the *Philippine* Islands, and Admiral of the *Spanish* Fleet; a Victory worthy the Foresight of such a Godly Monarch, the Application of those worthy Statesmen that compose his supreme Council, and the Valour of our Nation; not so much on account of the Wealth, and Fertility of those Countries, as for that it took from the Northern Nations all occasion of Sailing in our Seas, and Debauching the new Converted *Asiaticks*, and the Inhabitants of our Colonies Trading among them. The Celerity with which the Expedition was concluded, does not in the least diminish the Glory of the Event; which, for that very Reason, might rather deserve a place in a more ample Relation. I am sensible of the Dangers I expose my self to; but am no less satisfy'd, that I shall find some to stand by me. The most famous Painters, and Carvers, have generally a great value for Heads, Arms, and other Limbs, which have been drawn to perfection from the Life, by which they compose all the Parts, when they design some excellent Piece. The ignorant in those Arts have no Esteem for such Fragments, being only taken with the entire Statue, or Picture, consisting of all its Limbs, without examining the Defects there may be in each of them. The Relation I undertake to write of these Islands will find the same Esteem, and be expos'd to no less Contempt; for the Judicious, who understand

*Author's
Introdu-
ction.*

stand how History is Compil'd, will value this part drawn to the Life; whereas those, who, as they say themselves, Read only to divert the Time, will make little account of it, as being more fond of some Romance, tull of Monsterous Events; or of some bulkey Work, bearing the Title of a History, treating of numerous Armies, and mighty Slaughters, and bestowing the Success, not where Providence gave, but where they would have it. This is the Reason why many Things, worthy to be known and preserv'd, remain bury'd in Oblivion; because being left for General Histories, there are only slight Sketches of them Drawn at the Time when they hapned, by those who had a share in them, so that when these Manuscripts are to be made use of, either they are not to be found, or else they reduce the Writer to a necessity of subscribing to whatsoever either Self-Love, or any other Passion dictated to the Authors of such Memoirs, without any possibility of examining into the Truth. To obviate this Inconveniency, in a matter of such moment as that of *Ternate*, the Capital of the *Molucco* Islands, I was Commanded to write an Account of it, at a time when they were still living who acted in and directed it: And I have such full Information of all that is requisite for this purpose, that I hope Truth will make amends for my want of Ability. This is as much as I have thought fit to Advertise the Reader, without entering upon the Advantage he will reap by perusing this Relation; because, if he is well affected, all I can say for it will be superfluous; and if otherwise inclin'd, tho' I endeavour to set him right, he will never conceive it.

*Kings of
the Mo-
luccos.*

Among the fourteen most potent Princes, who Lord it over the *Archipelago* of the *Molucco* Islands, under the Title of Kings, those of *Ternate* and *Tydore* boast of a Divine Original; such Liberty to be vain do Men take upon them, or so much do they ascribe to obscure Antiquity. There is an ancient Tradition among those People, look'd upon as Sacred, That they were once Govern'd by a most Ancient Prince, called *Bicocigara*, who sailing along the Coast of *Rachian*, perceiv'd that among some craggy Rocks there were grown up abundance of *Rotas*, so they call a sort of solid Canes, which, when small, they make use of instead of Ropes. He lik'd them, and order'd they should be cut down, and brought into his Vessel. His Subjects going to fulfil his Orders, and having search'd all the place, return'd to their Master, desiring he would look again, least his Eyes deceiv'd him, for they could meet with no such Canes. *Bicocigara*, who saw them distinctly from his Boat, was positive with his incredulous People, and order'd them again to be brought; but to decide the matter, went himself Ashore, where immediatly they appear'd to them all. He commanded them to be cut down, and as they went about it, Blood ran from the Canes that were cut. Being astonish'd at that Prodigy, he discover'd close to the Roots of them four Eggs, which look'd like a Snakes Eggs, and at the same time heard a Voice, proceeding from the hollow of the Canes cut down, which said, *Keep these Eggs; for from them shall come four excellent Governours.* He took up those fatal Eggs, with Religious Respect, and carry'd them home, where they were kept in the best place of his House. In a short time, from the four Yolks proceeded four Rational Chickens, being three Men, and one Woman, who afterwards Reign'd, the first of them in *Rachian*, the second in *Butan*, and the third over the Islands call'd

*A Fable of
their Ori-
ginal.*

Papuas,

Papuas, lying East from the *Moluccos*. The Woman was Marry'd to Prince *Loloda*, who gave Name to the Country of *Batochina*, not far from the great *Boconora*. This Fable has gain'd such Reputation, that they honour *Bicocigara* as a Hero, worship the Rocks, and adore the Eggs. The truth of it is, that the cunning Man, by this prodigious Superstition, Sanctify'd his own Race, and gain'd Kingdoms, and Respect for his four Children. So *Greece* feign'd, or believ'd, that *Leda* Conceiving of the Adulterous Swan brought forth the Eggs, from which came *Castor*, *Pollux*, and *Helena*. Fortune, when she raises Men to a high pitch, perswades those she designs to Crown, to lay the Foundation of their Majesty on Fables, resembling true Mysteries, so to perswade the Multitude that they are somewhat Divine, and to distinguish the Royal Race by a peculiarity even in the Universal Law of being Born into the World. Of this Race thirteen Idolatrous Kings succeeded one another in *Tydore*, down to Sultan *Tydore Bongue*, the first that receiv'd the *Mahometan* Alcoran, tho' intermix'd with Idolatry, which lasted above Eighty Years, and being confounded among the Precepts of that abominable Sect, bred Divisions, and Distractions among the People. Afterwards, when the Commander *Brito* arriv'd in that Island, as we shall soon see, he found a *Caciz*, or Priest, taught them the new Superstition, and that many oppos'd him, on account of the old Fable of the Eggs, which the *Persian* *Morabout* could never Decry; so great is the power of Error transmitt'd from our Fore-Fathers.

King *Tydore Bongue*'s Successor, was his Son *Cachil Boleyse*, no less Superstitious than the Father, but in another way. He pretending to the Spirit of Prophecy, gain'd such Reputation, by the Experience and Foresight of his Riper Years, that he came to be Honour'd by his Subjects as a Prophet; or by the least Credulous, as a Person of singular Prudence, so that all Men gave Ear to him, as to an Oracle. Puffed up with this Vanity, he pretended to Fore-tell future Events; which when no particular Persons, or set Times are appointed, is a safe way of Predicting, without Danger of being found False; either because in process of Time something Accidentally happens, that may be adapted to the Prophecy, or in regard, that is always expected which will never come to pass. For this Reason, as in most Countries there are some current Notions of future Expectations, conceiv'd upon trivial Occasions, rather than any Observation of the Stars; therefore *Boleyse* us'd to tell those about him, That the time would come, when Iron Men should arrive at *Ternate*, from the remotest parts of the World, and settle in its Territory; by whose Power the Glory, and Dominion of the *Molucco* Islands should be far extended.

A false Prophecie.

In the Reign of King *John* the first, of *Portugal*, his Son, Prince *Henry*, First Discoveries. having employ'd several Persons on Discoveries, *John Gonzales*, and *Tristan Vaz* found the Island of *Madera*, in the Year 1419, and others soon after those of the *Azores*, and *Cabo Verde*, and ran along the Coast of *Guinea* and *Africk*. Afterwards, in the Reigns of King *Edward*, and *Alonso* the V. those Discoveries were continu'd, till under King *John* the II. they proceeded as far as the Cape of *Good Hope*, and a Hundred Leagues beyond it, along the Coast, call'd *Rio del Infante*. The honour of this Discovery is due to that famous Seaman *Bartholomew Diaz*, if we may believe the Manuscript Memoirs of *Duarte Resende*, for the Historian

Barros. This rais'd Emulation in the *Spanish* Nation, already engag'd in such Voyages, as having Discover'd the Western Islands, call'd *Aniilles*, or *Caribbee* Islands. This Discovery occasion'd a Controversy about the Right to them, *Portugal* pretending to, and *Spain* defending its Possession. After much Contention, the Difference was adjusted by *Ruy de Sousa*, and *Don John* his Son, and *Arias de Almada*, Commission'd by *Portugal*, who in the Year 1404. agreed with the *Spanish* Embassador, That, since this inferior Globe, consisting of Earth and Water, answers to the Degrees into which the Celestial Sphere is divided, it should be equally parted between the two Kings, by a Meridian Line drawn through the North and South Poles, and compassing the Land and Sea, so as to cut them into two halves. It was appointed, That the Share to the Eastward should belong to the Crown of *Portugal*, and the other to the Westward, to that of *Castile*; and that it should be so mark'd down on the Sea Charts; the Line passing through a fixt Point on the Earth, which was to be the Boundary of both Nations. This was by mutual Consent settled 360 Leagues West from *Cabo Verde*, and so the Line, or Meridian, fell upon the Country we call *Brazil*, about the most Westerly part of the Mouth of the River *Maranhao*, which disembogues there to the Northward. This Line cuts through that Country, and to the Southward runs off beyond the River of *Plate*, from whence the *Spaniards* begin to reckon their Degrees of Longitude Westward, and the *Portugueses* Eastward, 180 belonging to each of them, for as much as the whole Circumference of the Earth contains three hundred and sixty Degrees.

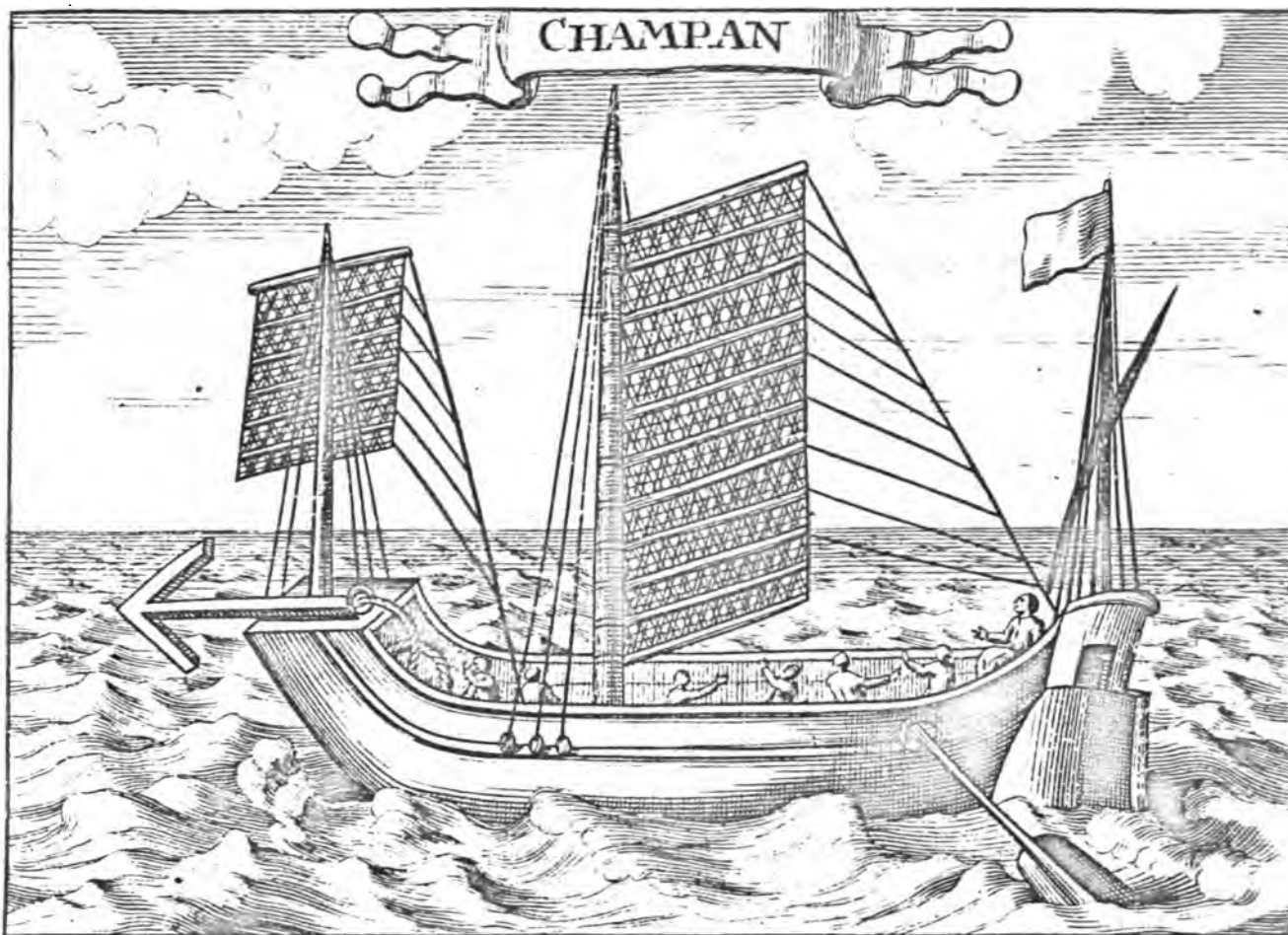
Vasco de
Gama dis-
covers In-
dia.

Vasco de Gama, employ'd by King *Emanuel* of *Portugal*, to Discover and Conquer *India*, prosecuted this Enterprize, look'd upon by *Ptolomy*, as impracticable; he travers'd the main Ocean, within the *Portuguese* Division, where he Discover'd, and since the *Portuguese* Commanders have Conquer'd so many Kingdoms, Nations, and Islands, so distinct in Customs, Manners, Laws, Languages, and Colours. They returning home admir'd what they had seen, and lay'd it down in Maps, but stretching out the Longitude, that is the Distance from West to East, beyond what it really was; thus Craftily providing for the Controversy which might arise upon this Occasion, as it soon happen'd, through the Falshood of the Sea Charts.

Portugue-
ses Preten-
tions to the
Moluccos.

By virtue of this practice, and by the *Pope's* subsequent Authorizing of it, the *Portugueses* pretend that the *Molucco* Islands, and those of *Banda*, and *Amboyna*, are within their Bounds, as they were adjudg'd, and settled by experienc'd Sailors, calculating the Extent of that Meridian, and they even stretch it 15 Degrees further. *Resende* complains, That *Magalhaens*, whom the *English* call *Magellan*, magnify'd the Opinion conceiv'd of the Eastern Seas, when in the Year 1519 he went away Disgusted into *Spain*. *Magellan* grew up in the service of Queen *Ellenor*, then serv'd King *Emanuel*, and went over into *India* with that *Alonso de Albuquerque*, of whose Bravery, and Conduct, we have written Histories, besides what Fame, and Tradition have deliver'd. This Man, not satisfy'd with the first Conquests, sent *Antony de Abreu*, *Francis Serrano*, and *Ferdinand de Nagalbaens* from *Malaca*, with three Ships, to Discover the *Molucco* Islands. All these three Commanders steer'd several Courses. We shall soon

CHAMPAN



JUNCK



soon speak of *Magellan* again. *Antony de Abreu* arriv'd at *Banda*, and returning towards *Malaca*, richly Laden with Spice of that Country, *Serrano* was parted from him in a Storm, and Shipwrack'd on the Islands of *Lucopino*, signifying Islands of *Tortoises*, so call'd from the Plenty and Bigness of those Creatures.

There the Tempest left the *Portugueses*, only their Lives and Arms sav'd, *Serrano* for their *Junck*, which is a sort of light Vessel, was Stav'd. The *Lucopine* cast on the Islands were Horrid, by reason of their want of Water, and being Desert; Islands of *Lucopine*. for their Rocks lying under Water, and the many Sea Robbers that frequent them, and always keep Sentinels posted to discover any Sailing by, that they may fall upon, and plunder them. Had not Hunger and Thirst threatned the *Portugueses* with speedy Death, they had reason to expect it at the Hands of those Pyrats; but that which had been the Destruction of others, at this time prov'd their Safety. Those Miscreants had observ'd the Shipwreck, and Rowing up in a Vessel call'd a *Caracoa*, as it were to a certain Booty, drew near to those who had so narrowly escap'd perishing in the Sea; but the *Malaca* Pilots, and Mariners were not ignorant of their design. They acquainted their Captain with the Danger, desiring him to take such Measures as might be for his own, and their Safety. *Serrano*, like a Man of Valour and Discretion, having view'd the Shore, conceal'd his Men in a hidden Place. The Pyrates landed to pursue them; but as soon as ever they were at some distance from the Shore, the Strangers rush'd out, and possess'd themselves of the *Caracoa*. The Barbarians thus surpris'd, reflecting on their Mismanagement, and perceiving they were lost Men, gave over the thoughts of Robbing, and had recourse to Intreaties, throwing down their Bows and Arrows, and begging they would not leave them in that Island, but rather take pity, and pardon what they had done; and promising, if he would carry them off, to conduct him to another place, where Strangers were well receiv'd, and there was Trade. *Serrano* granted their Request, and admitted them, and having repair'd the shatter'd *Junck*, and Embarking together, they directed their Course to the Island of *Amboyna*, where they were well receiv'd by the People of *Rucutelo*; who were ancient Enemies to those of *Veranula*, a Neighboring City of *Batochina*, with whom those of *Rucutelo* coming to a Battle, they obtain'd the Victory, through the Assistance of the New-comers. The Fame of this Success flew over to the *Molucco* Islands, at the Time when *Boleyse* Reign'd in *Ternate*, and *Almanzor* in *Tydore*, who were both not long before Idolaters, and then *Mahometans*. These two were at Variance about the Limits of their Dominions, and understanding that the *Portugueses* were at *Amboyna*, each of them desiring to Strengthen himself against his Enemy, sent Embassadors, and Ships, to invite, and bring over to them those Foreign Soldiers; thinking it also convenient upon other accounts, to enter into Alliance with those People, whose great Actions were then so fresh in the Mouths of all Men. *Boleyse* was quicker than *Almanzor*, and sent ten Ships for *Serrano*, with a Thousand well Arm'd Soldiers for their Defence, the whole under the Command of his Kinsman *Cacbil Coliba*: The *Tydore* Embassadors return'd from *Rucutelo* disappointed. It is but a short Cut between *Amboyna*, and *Ternate*, and therefore *Boleyse's* Ships soon return'd with the *Portugueses*. That King went out attended by his Subjects,

Settles at
Ternate.

Subjects, to receive the new Guests; all of them concluding, That they went to see the fulfilling of their so long expected Prophecy. *Serrano* Landed in bright white Armour, and his Companions in the same manner. When the King saw them, he embrac'd every Man, with a Countenance full of Pleasure and Admiration, shedding Tears, and lifting up his Hands to Heaven, bless'd God, and gave hearty Thanks, for that he had granted him to see that which had been Predicted so many Years before. *These*, said he, *my Friends, are the Warriors you have so long wish'd for, on account of my Prophecy. Honour them, and let us all vie in Entertaining them; since the Grandeur of our Country depends on their Arms.* The *Portugueses*, well pleas'd to be thought worthy of a Prophecy, the Beleif whereof was a Politick Invention, conducing to their Reputation, made no less Courteous Returns, expressing their singular Affection. They settled Amity, and Trade in the *Moluccos*; whence they spread it to the adjacent, and remoter Islands, which it will be now requisite briefly to Describe, for the better Understanding of this History.

Archipe-
lago de-
scrib'd.

The Eastern *Archipelago*, not to speak of the Division of those Oriental Parts into Northern, and Southern, Contains so many Islands, that the certain Number of them is not yet known. Hence Modern Authors distribute it into five Divisions, being so many *Archipelagos*, under the names of *Molucco*, *Moro*, *Papuas*, *Celebes*, and *Amboyna*. The Name of the First, in their Language, is *Moloc*, signifying, the Head, because it is the Chief of all about it. Others will have it to be *Malucco*, which, in *Arabick*, imports, the Kingdom, as the Principal of them. It Contains five most Remarkable Islands, all of them under the same Meridian, one in sight of another, their whole Extent being 25 Leagues; the Equinoctial crossing them, so that the most Northern of them has but half a Degree of Latitude that way, and the most Southern, one Degree on the other side. Near to them, on the East, is the Island *Gilolo*, by the *Portugueses* call'd *Batochina de Moro*, and by the *Moluccos*, *Alemaera*. Among all the others lying about them, call'd also *Moluccos*, as we say the *Canaries*, the *Terceras*, or the *Oreades*, these are the most Remarkable, for their great Plenty of Spice. The Names of them, beginning with the Northernmost, are, *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Motiel*, *Machian*, and *Bachian*; by the ancient Heathens call'd, *Cape*, *Duco*, *Moutil*, *Mara*, and *Seque*. This last, which is *Bachian*, is divided into many Islands, separated from one another by little Channels, Navigable only in small Vessels; for which reason, as also because it is under one Sovereign, it has but one Name, and all the *Molucco* Islands are Subject to three Kings. They are divided by small Arms of the Sea, and some Desert little Islands, as also by their Antient Enmity. The Coast both near the Shore, and farther off at Sea, full of Dangerous Shoals; among which there are some Inlets, where the Ships Ride in Safety. The Soil of them all is generally Dry and Spungy, sucking up all the Water, tho' it Rains never so much, and in many Places the Brooks that run down from the Mountains do not reach the Sea. According to that grave Historian *John de Barros*, these Islands afford an ill Prospect, and are no way pleasant to behold; because the Sun being always so near them, sometimes passing over towards the Northern, and some times towards the Southern Solstice, the natural Damp of the Earth fills them so full of Trees, and
Plants,

Plants, that it thickens the Air, and hinders the Sight; for by reason of the Earthly Vapours, the Trees are never naked of Leaves; but before one falls another has sprung out; and the same is among Herbs. Others affirm, they are Pleasant to look to, but not Healthy, especially for Strangers, who are all subject to the Disease call'd *Eerker*, which is common in that Country. This Malady swells the Body, and disables the Limbs, but is cur'd with Cloves, the Wine of the *Philippine* Islands, drank with Ginger, and the use of a certain Herb, known to the Natives; and the *Dutch* do it with the juyce of Lemmons, a Remedy found by their own Apprehension, and Experience.

Providence has stor'd these Spice-Islands with *Bananas*, *Coco-Nuts*, *Product of Oranges*, *Lemmons*, *Lignum-Aloes*, *Sanders*, *Cinnamon*, *Mace*, *Maffick-Trees*, the *Maluccos*. but above all, with abundance of *Cloves*, and other Plants; all of them valuable for their Fruit, or delightful for their Ornaments: They have neither *Wheat* nor *Rice*; but Nature gave them Industry, and Matter to supply this Defect. They beat a sort of Tree, like the *Wild-Palm*, with Mallets made of strong Canes; and those dry Trunks, so batter'd, yield an extraordinary white Flower, coming from the bruized Pith; which they mould up in square *Pipkins*, and this is the *Sagu*, or *Landan*, so made into square Loaves, like the *Castile Sope*. This Plant is about Fifteen Foot high, and from the Top of it sprout out some Branches, like those which produce the *Tamarinds*. These bear a Fruit like the *Cypress-Nuts*, in which there are certain fine Hairs, which if they touch a Man's Flesh, burn it. From the tender Branches of the same Plant cut, flows the Liquor which serves them for Drink, putting the Ends of the said Branches so cut into narrow Mouth'd Vessels, which are fill'd in a Night, and the Liquor so gather'd, is like Milk Whipped, and Frothy, which they call *Tuac*. When Drank new, it is Sweet and very Fat'ning; boil'd like new Wine it tastes like Wine, and after grows sharp as Vinegar. The same Advantage they reap from two other Plants call'd *Nipo*, and *Coco*; the last of them yields also *Oyl*, *Boards*, and *Timber* to build Houses. They also Drink another pleasant Liquor, which Nature has shut up in the Hollow of the Canes they call *Bambcoes*, so large that the Knots are a Yard a funder. They abound in Flesh; but the People are more affected to Fish; notwithstanding *Hugo*, the *Dutchman*, says they want both. Providence afforded them no Mines, either of *Gold*, or *Silver*; whether it was a Punishment, or Mercy we do not decide. Neither have they found any, of other less precious Metals; but not far from them is *Lambuco*, an Island abounding in Iron and Steel; whence, and from the Mines of *Sula* and *Rutva*, the People of the *Maluccos* bring them, to make their *Caampilanes*, which are sharp heavy *Cymiters*, and their *Crises*, being small *Daggers*. The *Portugueses* and *Dutch* have now furnish'd those Islands with small Fire-Arms, and Cannon of all sorts known among us.

Sagu:

A burning Mountain Flames out, about the Equinoxes, because at those Times the Winds blow; which kindle that natural Fire, on the Matter that has fed it so many Ages. The Top of the Mountain, which exhales it, is cold, and not cover'd with Ashes, but with asort of light cloddy Earth, little different from the Pomice-Stone burnt in our Fiery Mountains.

Ternate is the Capital City, and Court of that King, near to which a

Descending

Descending thence to the Foot of the Hill, which stretches out like a Pyramid, down to the Plain; it is all uncooth, being thick with Trees, whose Verdure is spar'd by the Flames, and the very Fire, Waters and Moistens them with Brooks, which it draws together in the Hollow of the Mountain, and forces it to Sweat, and pour out.

People of Ternate.

The Natives Differ from one another, as it were through a Miraculous Bounty of Nature; for it has made the Women Fair and Beautiful, and the Men, of a darker Colour than a Quince; their Hair lank, and many anoint it with sweet Oyls. Their Eyes are large, the Eyebrows long, which, and their Eye-lashes, they colour Black. Of Body they are Strong, much addicted to War, and sloathful for all other Employments. They are long Liv'd; grow grey earlie; and are as Active by Sea as by Land; Officious, and Courteous to Strangers; but when they grow Familiar, Importunate, and Troublesome in their Requests; in their Dealings, all bent upon Interest; Jealous, Fraudulent, and False. They are Poor, and therefore Proud; and to name many Vices in one, Ungrateful.

Religion, Manners, Laws.

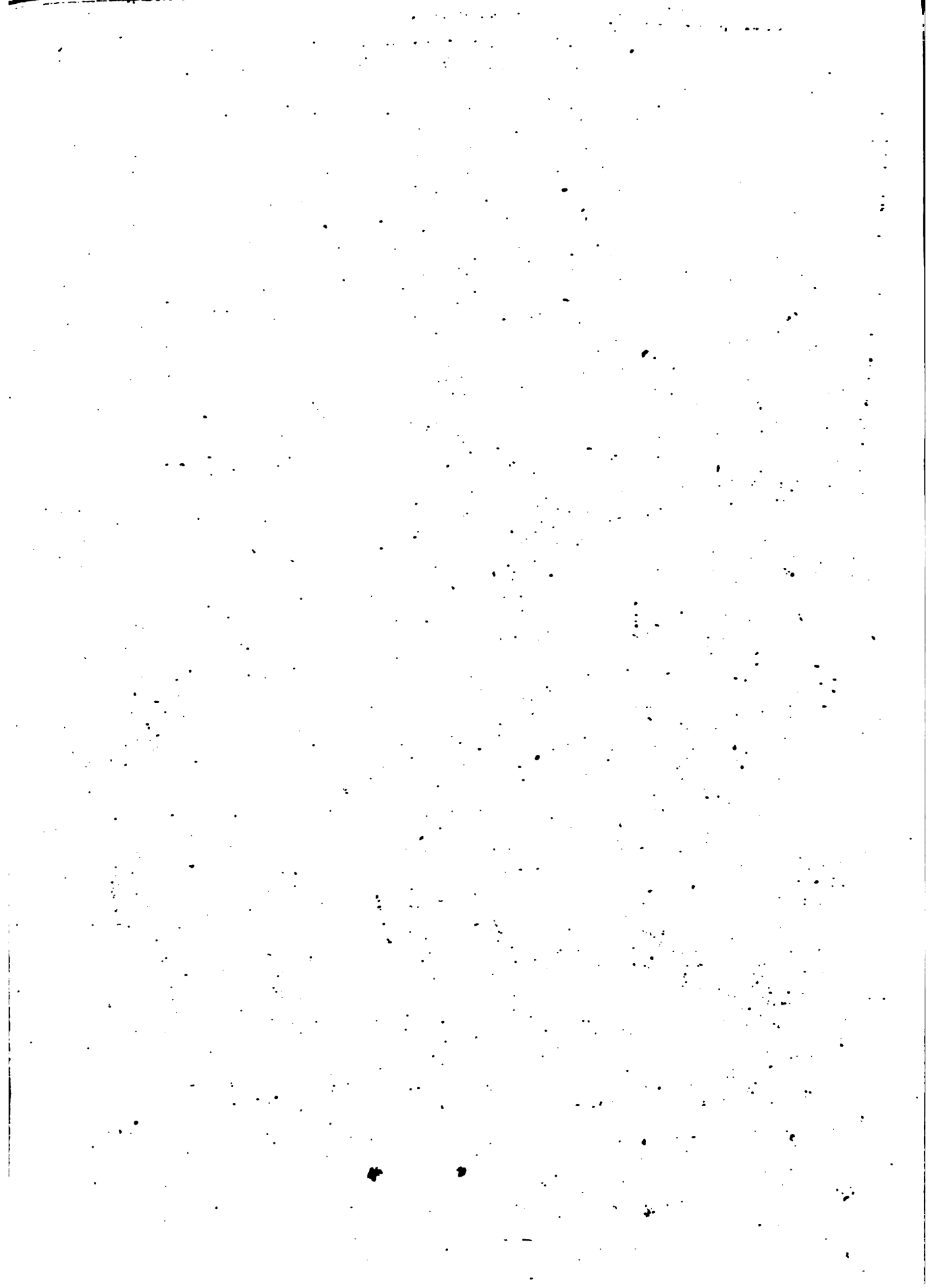
The *Chineses* possess'd themselves of these Islands, when they subdu'd all those Eastern Parts; and after them the *Javeneses*, and the *Malayes*, and lastly the *Persians*, and *Arabs*; which last, together with their Trade, Introduc'd the *Mahometan* Superstition among the Worship of their Gods; from whom some Families boasted they were descended. Their Laws are Barbarous: They have no limited Number of Wives. The King's chief Wife, call'd in their Language *Putriz*, enables and gives the Right of Succession to which her Sons are prefer'd, tho' younger than those by other Mothers. *Theft* is not pardon'd, tho' never so inconsiderable; but *Adultery* easily. When the Dawn appears, Officers appointed by Law for that purpose, beat a sort of broad, flat Tabors about the Streets, to awake Marry'd People, who they think deserves this Care from the Government, on account of Procreation. Most Crimes are punish'd with Death; in other Respects they Obey the Will, or Tyranny of the Conqueror.

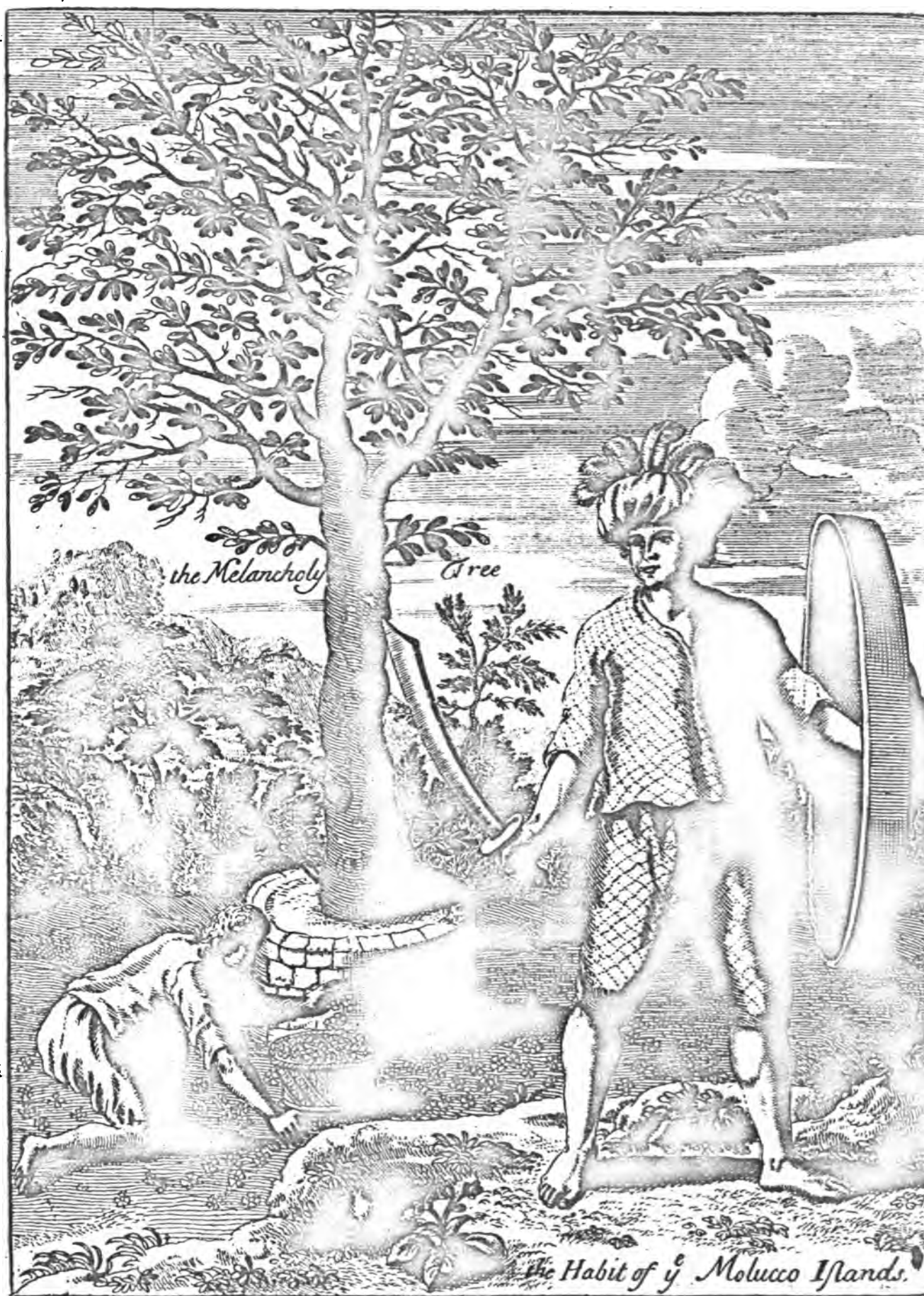
Their Habit.

The Men, on their Heads, wear *Turkish* Turbants of several Colours, with abundance of Feathers on them. The King's ends above like a Miter, and serves instead of a Crown. For their other Garb they all wear Wastecoats, which they call *Cheninas*, and Blew, Crimson, Green, and Purple Breeches. Of the same they make their Cloaks, or Mantles, which are short, Soldier-like, thrown over, or knotted on the Shoulder, after the Ancient *Roman* manner, known by the written Descriptions, Statues, and other Monuments of those Times. The Women are Proud of their Hair; sometimes they spread, and sometimes they plat it, sticking abundance of Flowers among the Ribbons, which hold it together; so that in their Dress, they are not encumber'd with loose Viels, Plumes, or Feathers. All that variety adorns them without Art; they wear *Bracelets*, *Pendants*, and *Necklaces* of *Diamonds* and *Rubies*, and great Strings of *Pearls*, which are not forbid even the meanest, no more than Silks, wherein the Women particularly are Clad after the *Persian* and *Turkish* Fashion; and all this costly Attire is the Product of the Neighbouring Lands and Seas. Both Men and Women in their Habit show their natural Haughtiness.

Language.

The variety of Languages among them is great, for sometimes one Town does not understand the People of the next; the *Malaye* Tongue is most us'd,





us'd, as easiest to pronounce. This Diversity of Languages shows, that those Islands were Peopled by several Nations. In those Parts all Antiquity, and the Art of Navigation are ascrib'd to the *Chineses*. Some affirm, That the People of the *Molucco* Islands are Descended from the *Juos*, who settled there, being invited by the Fragrancy of the Spice. They loaded their Vessels with Cloves, till then unknown, and holding on that Trade, carry'd it to the Gulphs of *Arabia*, and *Persia*. They Sail'd about all those Countries, transporting Silks, and Porcelance, the Product, and Manufacture of *China*. The Cloves were by the *Persians*, and *Arabs* transmitted to the *Greeks*, and *Romans*. Some *Roman* Emperors had a design of Conquering the East, till they should come to the Spicy Countries; so covetous were they of that Commodity; and believing they all came from *China*, call'd all those People *Chineses*. The *Spaniards* formerly brought them among other Goods from the *Red-Sea*. The Kings of *Egypt* for some time possess'd themselves of all the Spice, which they Transmitted from the Hands of the *Asiatics* into *Europe*. This the *Romans* continu'd, when they reduc'd *Egypt* into the Form of a Province. Long after, the *Genoeses*, Transferring the Trade to *Theodosia*, now *Cassa*, handed them about to all Parts; and there the *Venetians*, and other Trading Nations, had their Consuls, and Factors. They afterwards were convey'd over the *Caspian* Sea and *Trabifond*; but this Trade fell with the Eastern Empire; and then the *Turks* carry'd them in Caravans of Camels, and Dromedaries to *Berytus*, *Aleppo*, *Damascus*, and several Ports on the *Mediterranean*. The Sultans of *Egypt* brought them back to the *Red-Sea*, and thence to *Alexandria*, down the *Nile*. The *Portugueses* having Conquer'd the *East-Indies*, took them from *Egypt*, and brought them in their Fleets by the Cape of Good Hope, sinking and taking all Ships that attempted to carry any to *Grand Cayro*. For that purpose they kept Squadrons on the Coasts of *Arabia* and *Persia*, and at Cape *Guardafu*. By this means the Trade of *Egypt* was suppress'd, and all the Spice brought on the Kings account to *India*, and thence taking a prodigious compass, to *Lisbon*. He who is Master at Sea will be possess'd of this Wealth; by which, and other Commodities, we see that is made good, which some write *Themistocles* was wont to say, *That he has all things who has the Sea*.

*How
Cloves
were
brought
into Eu-
rope.*

The Kings, *Boleyse*, of *Ternate*, and *Almanzor*, of *Tydore*, contended about Entertaining *Serrano*, and each of them courted him to build a Fort in his Island. It is well worth Observation, To see how eagerly these Kings sought after, and begg'd for that which they were soon after to be averse to. They writ about it to the King of *Portugal*; but *Antony de Miranda* coming to the *Moluccos*, besides a wooden Fort, or House he built at *Talangame*, erected another at *Machian*, an Island belonging to the two Kings, by which means he satisfy'd the Request of both. Soon after *Cachil Laudin*, King of *Bachian*, made Application to *Don Trifstan de Meneses*, on the same account. *Don Trifstan* was come to the *Moluccos* to Load Spice, and with a design to carry away *Francis Serrano*, and to induce *Boleyse* to consent to it, he perswaded him, it was requisite that *Serrano* should go to *Portugal*, to prevail upon King *Emanuel* to order the Fort he desir'd, to be built upon *Ternate*, and not elsewhere. *Boleyse* approv'd of his design, and to that end, sent *Cachilato*, as his Ambassador, with

Serrano. *Don Trifan* set out, and his Ships being dispers'd in a Storm, was oblig'd to return to the *Moluccos*, and to Winter in the Wooden House above mention'd; but as soon as the *Monsoon* blew, he put to Sea again, and touching at *Bachian* was inform'd, That they had kill'd some *Portugueses*, of *Simon Correa's* Vessel in that Island. This troubled him, but he dissembled it, and proceeding on his Voyage, return'd to *Malaca*, by the way of *Amboyna*.

*Brito at
the Mo-
luccho's.*

Antony de Brito, appointed by the Governour of *India* to succeed *Serrano* in that Post, Sail'd from Cape *Sincapura*, through the Streights of *Sabam*, with 300 Men, and some experienc'd Commanders. He touch'd at *Tuban*, a City in the Island of *Java*, and went over to another, call'd *Agazim*, a Mart in those Parts, opposite to the Island *Madura*. Its nearness inviting him, he sent a Roving Vessel thither to get some Information what Course he was to Steer. Seventeen Men there were in the Vessel Landed on the Coast, and went up along the side of a River, cover'd with beautiful Trees, whose Fruit deceiv'd the Sailers; for they attracted with the pleasant sight, and unexpected satisfaction, forgot to secure their Vessel. The Natives observing the Opportunity, first took the Vessel, and then all the Men, whose Ransom prov'd afterwards difficult, tho' the Lord of the City favour'd it. *Brito* sail'd directly for the *Moluccos*, and touching at *Bachian*, sent *Simon de Abreu* in all haste to burn a Village, and kill all the Inhabitants, in Revenge for *Simon Correa's* Companions slain there; that King *Laudin* might understand, they should not escape unpunish'd, who wrong'd the *Portuguese*, and that since his Island was the first that took up Arms against them, it should also be the first that felt their Vengeance. He executed his severity without any Loss, tho' that King did not forget the Obligation he laid on him. *Brito* went on to *Tydore*, and was Inform'd by *Almanzor* of the Disorders there were at *Ternate*, because *Boleyse* was dead, and it was suppos'd he had been Poyson'd. He being near his Death order'd, That during the Minority of his eldest Son *Cachil Bohat*, or *Boyano*, the Queen his Wife, who was Daughter to the King of *Tydore*, should Govern; and that *Cachil Daroes*, Natural Son to the said *Boleyse*, should Act jointly with her. The Queen who was Crafty, suspecting that her Father *Almanzor* might under that colour aim at some Advantage, to the Detriment of her Son, call'd her Subjects together and told them, That it was enough for her to take care of her Sons Education; and therefore she laid the greatest stress of Government on *Cachil Daroes*.

*King of
Ternate
Dies.*

*A Fort
Built at
Ternate.*

The King, and the Governour *Daroes*, expected the Commander *Antony Brito*, as the Kingdoms, and the young Kings Protector. They went out to meet him in a Fleet of *Carcoas*, with the Noise of that Barbarous Musick of Brals Basons, and Tabors. He Landed, shewing State, and appearing worthy of that Applause; visited the Queen, the King, and his Brothers; and after the Ceremony of Condoling the Death of *Boleyse*, ordering Affairs in Conjunction with *Daroes*, he approv'd of that Form of Government, and upon all occasions Defended his Province against that of *Tydore*. To do this with the greatest Security, he pitch'd upon a proper spot of Ground, according to the Rules of Fortification, which were not then very perfect, no more than Military Discipline. The Foundation being dug, *Brito*, in the presence of the King, and all the People, laid the first Stone of the new Fort, with his own Hand. This happen'd on Midsummer Day, and there-
fore

fore he gave the Fort the Name of *St. John Baptist*; and tho' it was built for the Defence of *Ternate*, yet in *Brito's* mind it was Dedicated to the service of the Gospel, and its Ministers. He us'd endeavours to send away the *Caeiz* he found there spreading of *Mahomet's* false Doctrine, as an Obstacle to the True; but the War which is there always settled and natural against *Tydore*, obstructed these Designs; tho' at the same time the Troubles of those two Revengeful Nations increas'd the Revenues of *Portugal*, by contributing of their Spice; and the desire of Superiority brought them into Subjection. However, in *Portugal* *Brito* had a Successor appointed him, and he was inform'd, That the other was already sailing for the *Moluccos*; and there was need enough of them both, and of doubling their Forces; becaule *Spain* still insisted upon taking those Countries as its Right; and *Brito* began to be hated, on account of his offering Violence to the Royal Family.

At the same time *Magellan* having Sail'd 600 Leagues towards *Malaca*, was in certain Islands, whence he corresponded with *Serrano*; who having thriv'd so well in *Ternate*, with *Boleyse*, sent his Friend word what Kindness, and Wealth he had receiv'd from him; advising him to return to his Company. *Magellan* consenting, resolv'd to go to the *Moluccos*; but in case his Services were not Rewarded in *Portugal*, as he expected, he would take the way directly for *Ternate*, under whose King *Serrano* grew so Rich in Nine Years. He consider'd, that since the *Moluccos* were 600 Leagues East from *Malaca*, which make 30 Degrees, little more or less, they were out of the *Portuguese* Limits, according to the antient Sea Chart. Returning to *Portugal*, he found no Favour, but thought himself wrong'd, and resenting it, went away into *Castile*, carrying with him a Planisphere, drawn by *Peter Reynel*; by which, and the Correspondence he had held with *Serrano*, he perswaded the Emperor, *Charles V.* that the *Molucco* Islands belong'd to him. It is reported, That he Confirm'd his Opinion with Writings, and the Authority of *Ruy Faleyro*, a *Portuguese* Judiciary Astrologer, and much more with *Serrano's*.

Magellan goes over to Spain.

Hereupon the Emperor gave him the Command of a Squadron, with which he sail'd from *Sanlucar*, on the 21st. of September, 1519. He stay'd four days at the *Canaries*, where a Caravel overtook him, with private Intelligence, that his Captains went with a Design not to Obey him: particularly *John Cartagena*, who had the same Commission as *Magellan*. He bravely seem'd to take no notice, and sailing away with a fair Wind, being pass'd *Rio de Janeyro*, in the Province of *Santa Cruz*, commonly call'd *Brazil*, the Sea growing very cold, and much more the *River of Plate*, which is in 35 Degrees of South Latitude, the Captains question'd him about the Voyage, since they could not find the Cape, or Streight, they went in search of. He answer'd, as to Men that were entirely Subordinate to his Direction and Authority, *That they must go on, for he knew what he was about, and the Coasts of Norway and Ireland were in a greater Latitude, and yet Ships sail'd along them.* These Contests lasted almost all the Voyage, and increas'd with the cold and dreadful Winds, and the hideous sight of the Mountains of Snow and Ice, grown old, which they met in the Latitude of 52 and 53 Degrees. They magnify'd these Difficulties, alledging, That it requir'd six, or seven Months to come from *Castile*,

Sets out on his Discovery.

cross the Line, and run all along the Coast of *Brazil*, through such diversity of Climates, in each of which the Weather vary'd. That this was throwing away Men and Ships, which were more valuable than all the Cloves in the *Molucco* Islands.

He discovers the Streight of his Name. The Astrologer, *Ruy Faleyro*, being Distracted, was left in the Mad-House at *Sevil*; and in his Place went *Andrew de San Martin*, to whom *Magellan* gave Ear, as to what he said of the Weather; but not in other Cases, as some lay to his Charge, and with such Moderation and Integrity, as becomes Christian Piety. Nor is it to be believ'd, That *Magellan* should consult such a Deceitful a Science as Judiciary Astrology, upon such difficult Points, or should prefer it before Astronomy, amidst such dreadful Dangers. The Hardships became intollerable; and Discord so far prevail'd with the Captains, *John de Cartagena*, *Gaspar Quesada*, and *Lewis de Mendoza*, that they resolv'd either to Kill, or Secure *Magellan*. This Conspiracy coming to his Ears, as he lay at the Mouth of the River of St. *Julian*, having contriv'd what was to be done, as *John de Barros* writes, he caus'd *Lewis de Mendoza* to be Stab'd, which was done by *Gonzalo de Espinosa*. Next *Gaspar de Quesada* was Quarter'd Alive; and a Servant of his, who was concern'd, had his Pardon. *Cartagena* he condemn'd to a lingering Death, leaving him in that Desert Country, with a Clergy Man, guilty of the same Crime, which was High Treason against their King. So say the *Portuguese* Histories; but the *Spanish* inform us, That they were privately proceeded against, and the Judgment was Read to them. This done he made some Speeches to Justify the Fact, and Comfort his Companions. *Cartagena*, and the Clergy-Man, who were left with some Provisions, got away a few days after, in one of the Ships of the same Squadron, which return'd to *Spain*. *Magellan* overcoming incredible Difficulties, found the Streight, and Passage, which makes the Communication between the two Seas, and preserves his Name to this Day. He there took Giants above fifteen Spans high, who wanting raw Flesn, which they us'd to feed on, soon Dy'd; then he pass'd the Streight successfully. But tho' he got under the Equinoctial, either by reason of the Currents, or the Faultiness of the Sea Charts, he Sail'd round about, and almost in sight of the *Molucco* Islands, yet could never come at them. He Touch'd at others, where he was oblig'd to Fight; and went on to those of *Zebu*, or the *Munilas*. At this same time his Friend *Serrano* was sailing for *India*, and tho' it happen'd in several Places, yet they both Dy'd on the same Day, and much after the same Manner.

It would be superfluous to dilate upon the Story of *Magellan*, his tedious Navigation, and the many Difficulties he met with, before and after he pass'd through his Streight into the *Pacifick*, or *South-Sea*; his Arrival at the Island of *Zebu*, and perswading the Idolatrous King to embrace the Christian Faith, and the Battles he fought on his account, with his Enemies; for besides that these things are Related by very good Authors who Treat of the Discovery of the *Molucco* Islands, which was the main Object of his desperate Undertaking, we must be brief in repeating them, to show how eager several Princes, and Nations were for these Islands, and the Notion they had of what great Consequence they would be to them.

The King of *Zebu* was Baptiz'd, rather to make his Advantage of the *Spanish*

Spanish Arms, than out of any Zeal, or that he knew the Faith he Embrac'd. He took the Name of *Ferdinand* in Baptism, to flatter his Godfather, who was *Ferdinand Magalhaens*, himself. After obtaining several Victories by his Assistance, thinking he could shake off the second Yoke he expected those Strangers might lay on him, he turn'd against them. He contriv'd an Entertainment, in Honour of *Magellan* and Thirty five *Spaniards* being at it, he fell upon them at a time appointed, with a Multitude of Barbarians, and confounding the Feast, murder'd his Guests, who handled their Arms to defend themselves, which only serv'd to render their Deaths more Honourable. The rest of the *Spaniards*, who escap'd because they were at Sea, for their better Government under that Misfortune, presently chose *Barbosa*, a Kinsman of *Magalhaens*, for their General, and *Lewis Alfonso*, a *Portuguese* to be Captain of the Ship, call'd the *Victory*. The perfidious King, thinking to conceal his Treachery and Apostacy, as if it were possible to keep it secret, sent to invite *Barbosa*, saying he would deliver him the Jewel he had promis'd for the King of *Spain*. *John Serrano*, thinking it a Rashness, to trust a Man again, whose Hands were still Bloody with the late Execution, dissuaded *Barbosa* from accepting of the Invitation; but was not regarded. *Barbosa* went with the other Guests, and *Serrano* himself, who, to show it was not Fear that mov'd him to give such Advice, was the first that got into the Boat. They were conducted into a Wood of *Palm-Trees*, where the King expected them, with a small Retinue, the Tables being spread in the Shade, amidst the Musick of Bag-Pipes. When they were seated, and began to Eat, a great number of Archers that lay in Ambush, rush'd out, and shot our Men. They saved *Serrano*, whom they lov'd, not out of Kindness, for they show'd him bound to those that were at Sea, demanding for his Ransom, two Brass Guns, and then he told them, the Slaughter that had been made. Our Men, not trusting to them, any longer, set Sail, and did not only see the *Indians* carry *Serrano* back to their Town, but soon after heard mighty Shouts in it; and it was afterwards known that they gave them when they killed *Serrano*, and ran to throw down a great Cross, set up before the New-Church, which they could not perform. The *Spaniards* wanting Men, burnt the Ships, call'd the *Conception*, and chose *John Caravallo* for their General, and *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, Captain of the Ship the *Victory*. They came to *Borneo*, on the Coast whereof they found those Peoples Fleet of *Carcoas*, Painted, and the Prows of them like Serpents Heads gilt.

The Soldiers appear'd well Arm'd, who having spy'd our Ship, acquainted their King with it. He order'd 2000 of his Guard to go out, and receive them, before they reach'd the City. These Men came brandishing their Bows and poison'd Arrows, Trunks, Cymitars, and Shields, and wore Breast-plates made of *Tortois* Shells, and encompass'd an Arm'd Elephant, on whose Back there was a wooden Castle. When the *Spaniards* came up the Elephant stoop'd down, and six arm'd Men coming out of the Castle, put *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, who was then General, into it. Thus attended, he went to Visit the King, in whose Presence his Secretary spoke to him through a Trunk, and *Espinosa* gave him an Account of the King of *Zebu's* Perfidiousness. All condol'd the Accident, and our Men taking Leave Sail'd away for the *Molucco* Islands, being reliev'd with what they wanted, and furnish'd with able Pilots.

He is Murder'd with others.

Soldiers of Borneo, and Reception of Spaniards.

Not

Not far from *Borneo*, they met 150 Sail, whereof they took two *Junks*, in which they found an Hundred Men, five Women, a Son of the King of *Luzon*, and an Infant two Months Old. This they thought would be a sufficient Ransom to recover their Companions; so they let go the Prince upon his Parole, he promising to restore them the Captive *Spaniards*. They had some Storms; but arriv'd at *Tydore*, on the 8th of *November* 1521, When *Almanzor* heard the salute of the Canon, he sent to enquire what People they were, and presently after he came to our Ships in a little Boat. His Shirt appear'd woven with Gold and Silk, a white Cloth which trail'd being girt over it. About his Head a fine Veil of several Colours, made like a *Persian* Miter: Being Aboard the Commodore, the Relations of that Voyage say, he stopp'd his Nose with his Fingers, either at the Smell of our Meat, or of the Ship. *Mabometanism* was newly come into his Island, and most of his Subjects, especially those Inhabiting the Mountains, ador'd Idols. He bid our Men wellcome, gave them good Words, and afterwards was as kind in his Actions; and being inform'd of their past Sufferings, gave them leave to load Cloves. They presented him with a Chair of Crimson Velvet, a Robe of Yellow Velvet, a great Loose Coat of fallie Cloth of Gold, a piece of Yellow Damask, four Yards of Scarlet Cloth; Handkerchiefs, and Towles, wrought with Silk, and Gold; Drinking-Glasses, Glas Beads, Looking-Glasses, Knives, Scizers, and Combs. They gave his Son another parcel of Gifts, and a Cap, and did the like by his *Cachiles* and *Sangiacks*. When they ask'd the Kings leave in the Emperors Name to Trade, he granted it, adding they should kill any that offer'd to hinder them. He seriously view'd his Majesty's Picture and Arms on the Standard, and desired to see our Coin. And pretending to be an Astrologer, or Soothsayer, or as others say, having Dreamt, or Guess'd it, or being told it by *Chinese* Priests, he said, *He knew the Christians were to come to his Lands for Spice; and desired that they would not leave him.* They treated about an Alliance, and when they were agreed, two *Tydores* brought something in their Hands to the Ships, which they afterwards understood was the *Alcoran*, tho' at first they did not, because cover'd with Silks, and Strings. *Almanzor* lay'd his Hands on it, and then on his Head, and Breast; and this was the Ceremony of his Swearing Friendship, and Fealty to the Crown of *Castile*, and that he would allow them Cloves, and all Commerce for ever. Then the General *Espinosa*, in the Emperor's Name, before an Image of the blessed Virgin, swore to protect them both in Peace and War, and presented King *Almanzor* with Thirty *Indians* he had taken Prisoners. Soon after, as some Authors affirm, *Corala*, Prince of *Ternate*, Nephew to *Almanzor*, came to *Tydore* to swear Fealty in like manner, as did *Luzuf*, King of *Gilolo*, of whom it is Written, That he had Six Hundred Sons, and that *Almanzor* had Two Hundred Wives. These Kings Writ to the Emperor; ratifying their Fealty, and *Sebastian del Cano* sail'd away in the Ship, the *Victory*, by the way the *Portugueses* use, with the Letters and Instruments; the General *Espinosa* returning towards *Panama*, for *Castilla del Oro* on the Continent of *America*, to pass thence to *Spain*.

Ally with
that King.

At this time the new Governor, *Don Garcia Henriquez*, was under Sail, to succeed *Antony Brito*, and being come to *Banda*, waited for the *Monson*

to carry him to *Ternate*. *Monfon* is the Name by which the *Portuguese* call the Wind, which blows six Months to carry them to *India*, and then six Months again to bring them back. There he furnished himself with all Necessaries for the Fort built by *Erito*. He had need so to do, for he received Advice, That *Spanish* Ships were sailing thro' the Bays, and openest Parts of the *Archipelago*. He sent to discover them, by the Industry of his Soldiers, and being receiv'd at *Ternate*, view'd the Fort, and observ'd the posture of the Government. He propos'd a Peace with *Cachil Almanzor*, King of *Tydore*. We shall have frequent Occasion to repeat these Words *Cachil* and *Sangiack*. *Cachil* is perhaps deriv'd from *Katil*, which in *Arabick* is the same as among us, a Valiant Soldier. In the *Molucco* Islands they Honour their Nobility with this Title, which is something more than *Don* in *Spain*. The Title of *Sangiack*, which answers to that of Duke, or Earl, might come from *Senchag*; which in the *Turkish* Language, imports a Commander: To conclude this Peace, he thought it convenient to secure the Royal Family; which he accordingly executed, and though he colour'd it with fair Pretexts, they plainly perceived this was an Introduction towards Oppressing them, and show'd a mistrust. We may safely affirm, This was the first Distaste which, as being a notorious Wrong, disturb'd that Nation, and from that time they grew Cold, and Jealous, thinking themselves oblig'd to seek Revenge; and this Action was the occasion of all the ensuing Slaughters, as we often see a great Fire rise from one small Spark.

Monfon, what it is.

Cachil and Sangiack, their significations.

Portuguese, why hated.

Cachil Daroes endeavour'd to obstruct this Peace, as Tutor, and Governor, fearing the Trade of Cloves would be transferr'd to *Tydore*, to the Destruction of the Infant King's Dominions. But notwithstanding this Opposition, the Peace was concluded, upon certain Conditions, as, That the King of *Tydore* should deliver a Ship he had taken, the Canon, and some runaway *Portuguese*. *Almanzor*, who stood in need of a Peace, and the Friendship of the *Portuguese*, to gain the Affection of *Cachil Daroes*, propos'd to Marry him to one of his Daughters. *Don Garcia* believing that this Union among them would produce that of their Forces, and less Submission to the *Portuguese's* Dominion, to obstruct this dangerous Alliance, sent to the King of *Tydore* to borrow the Canon. That King excus'd himself, alledging, that he had lent it a few days before, to the King of *Bachian*. *Cachil Daroes* complying with him, agreed to all the Articles. *Don Garcia* being dissatisfy'd, waited an opportunity to break all that Contrivance, and be Reveng'd. *Almanzor* fell Sick, and desir'd *Don Garcia* to send him a Physician; who sent an Apothecary, and he either not understanding Physick, or, as was believ'd, by order of *Don Garcia*, kill'd the Patient. Manifest tokens of Poyson afterwards appear'd. The Funeral was order'd, and at the same time the Commander, *Don Garcia*, appear'd in the Morning, in a parcel of *Carcoas*, before *Tydore*. He sent *Baldaya*, the Clerk of the Fort, to demand the Canon, threatening War, in case of denial. The Regents excusing themselves at that time, with just Reasons, and particularly the Funeral Solemnity, when they were in the Height of the Ceremony of Burying their King, they heard the Shouts of *Don Garcia's* Men giving the Assault. The *Portuguese* enter'd the City, firing the Houses, plundering and killing, which oblig'd the *Tydores* to abandon their King's

More of their Outrages.

King's Body, and fly to the Mountains. During their Absence, *Don Garcia* seized the Canon, and carry'd it away to *Ternate*. Those who had fled return'd, with some Apprehension, and found the City ruin'd hideous, and almost reduc'd to Ashes; but recovering from their Fright; they proclaim'd *Cachil Raxamira*, the Son of *Almanzor*, King. They committed the Education of him to *Cachil Rade*, his Kinsman, the War being declared between *Ternate* and the New King of *Tydore*, who was seasonably supported by the *Spaniards* that came to his Country.

Spanish
Ship first
round the
World.

The Ship *Victory* returning into *Spain*, with the Letters from the King of the *Molucco* Islands, which the Emperor receiv'd, he was more fully convinc'd, that these Islands were within his Limits. Their Wealth, and his Right to them were so lively represented to him, that he order'd another Squadron of four Ships, two Galloons, and an Advice Boat to be made ready at *Corunna*, to be Commanded by the Commendary *Fray Garcia de Loaysa*, a Gentleman of *Biscay*, and under him, as Vice-Admiral, *Sebastian del Cano*, and the Captains *Don Rodrigo de Acuna*, *James de Vera*, &c. They Sail'd on the Eve of *St. James* the Apostle, 1525, touch'd at *Gomera*, and running along the Coast of *Guinea*, could not make *Cape St. Augustine* for want of Wind. By reason of this Calm, all agreeing to it, he alter'd his Course to the *Cape of Good Hope*. A Portuguese Ship guided them to the Island of *St. Matthew*, which is Desert, and full of lofty Orange Trees, where they saw Hens, the Track of wild Boars, and some Portuguese Words carv'd on Trees, which shew'd they had pass'd that way. The Ships leaving them, they pass'd *Cape St. Augustine*, making for the Streights of *Magellan*. In this Course they endur'd Storms, and Err'd in their Accounts. *Sebastian del Cano* struck on a Shoal, and was reliev'd. The Galloons and Advice Boat made *New Spain*. The Admiral, by the Advice of *Cano*, pass'd the Equinoctial, upon information, That in 12 Degrees of South Latitude, he would find certain Islands that were rich in Gold and Silver. All the Men sickn'd, the Admiral, and *Cano* dy'd, with some others. The remains of the Squadron choosing *Toribio de Salazar* for their Commander, return'd under the Line; but he dy'd at the Islands *de las Velas*, now call'd *Ladrones*. or of *Thieves*. After some Strife, *Martin Iniguez*, and *Ferdinand de Bustamante* succeeded him, and agree'd to Command by turns. Thus divided they came in sight of *Mindanao*, and thence to the *Molucco* Islands, took in some Refreshment at *Cope*, a Town of the Island *Moratay*, whence they went on to *Camaso*, of *Morotoja*, whose *Sangiack* is Subject to the King of *Tydore*.

Another
Squadron
passes Ma-
gellans
Streights.

War be-
twixt Spa-
niards and
Portu-
guese.

They proceeded through the Gulph of *Camaso*, where they were Inform'd by the Ship of *Don George de Mcneses*, who had been forc'd thither by the Currents, that the Portuguese held the Fort of *Ternate*, and *Don Garcia* made War on *Tydore*. *Iniguez*, and *Bustamante* offer'd them the Assistance of *Spain*, by which, coming so opportunely, they gain'd the Affections of them all, and furnished themselves with Necessaries. *Don Garcia* being already provided against the new Enemy, gather'd some Carcons, and tho' he could not perswade *Daroes*, the Tutor, to go along with him, oppos'd the *Spaniards*. First the Portuguese sent an Admonition, wherein he offer'd them Peace, and Entertainment, as Subjects to the Emperor, who was so near Ally'd to the King of *Portugal*; protesting, That the *Molucco* Islands

Islands were within his Limits. This avail'd nothing, and *Daroes* Embarking in 12 *Carcoas*, with *Emanuel Falcao*, sent that Protestation in Writing, and in case it was Rejected, to declare War. The *Spanish* Commander receiv'd the Lawyer that was to make the Protestation, with much Civility and Respect, and answer'd, That the *Molucca* Islands belong'd to the Crown of *Castile*, and therefore he, in the Emperors Name, required *Don Garcia* not to break the Peace establish'd between their Kings. After all they were oblig'd to have recourse to Arms. *Iniguez* Landed on *Tydore* strengthen'd the Works, and furnish'd them with Canon. The *Portuguese* follow'd, and both sides Firing, there was a great Slaughter; but those of *Ternate* retir'd so disorderly, that the *Tydores* remain'd Victors. However neither the Protestations, nor the War ceas'd, the *Spaniards* urging *Maggellan's* Discovery, and the *Portuguese*, *Serrano's*, and *Brito's*. The *Tydores* and *Spaniards* took some *Carcoas* belonging to *Gilolo*, in which they kill'd a *Portuguese*, and some *Ternates*, as also a *Champan* Laden with Provisions for *Talangame*. Portuguese and Spanish War.

In the *Philippine* Islands they give the Name of *Carcoas* to a sort of *Carcoas*, Vessels that use Oars, open, and bigger than our Barks, and are Steer'd by two Rudders, the one ahead, and the other astern. The *Ternates* call'd them *Janguas*, which differ from the *Carcoas* only in having two Half-Moons of Wood, Painted, or Gilt, rising above the Keel at the Head and Poop. About 100 Men Row in each of them, to the sound of a Tabor, and a Bell. They carry twenty Soldiers, and six Musketers. The rest are employ'd about four or five little Brass Guns. Both the Men that Row, and the Soldiers are Arm'd with *Campilanes*, that is *Cymiters*, and *Shields*, and abundance of *Calabays*, and *Sagus*, being long Canes burnt in the Fire, to harden them; which they throw, without tacking, as the *Moors* do their Darts. Their way of Fighting is to come within Gun-shot, and as soon as they have Fir'd, both sides fly with all speed, till they have Loaded again, and then return to the same Post. They set three Men to each Gun, the one Levels, the other Charges, and the third Fires it. This is the way among the Islanders; for when they have to do with *Europeans*, our Example has Improv'd them in the Art of War. But in their *Carcoas* they are always expos'd to be kill'd by our Cannon, because they have no Fights to cover them; and the same is in the *Champanes*, which differ but little from the others. what sort of Vessels, and others.

The Victory we have spoken of Encourag'd the *Tydores*, and with the Assistance of the *Spaniards*, they Arm'd, and falling upon *Gaca*, a Town of *Ternate*, Plunder'd and Burnt it; but at their Return, they met with *Martin Correa*, whom they Fought, plying their *Carcoas*, the Success remaining doubtful. Whilst this War was at the hottest, *Don George de Meneses* came from the *Papuas* to *Ternate*, to whom *Don Garcia* presently resign'd the Post, tho' the Hostilities continu'd, with Burning and Slaughter on both sides, which it was expected would be greater when the *Portuguese* Succours came from *Malaca*, and the *Castilian* from *Spain*. The new *Portuguese* Commander in Chief, and *Martin Inniguez* came to a Conference, and with much Courtesy, and desire of Peace, concluded a Truce, which lasted not long, tho' not on account of the main cause. D. George de Meneses at Ternate.

There were many Battles between the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Nations, from

from *Gilolo* and other adjacent Islands, about the Possession of the *Moluccos*, and they were under several Commanders, the Event whereof we shall see in its Place. Therefore, and because others have Treated of them Copeously, they shall be now pass'd by, that we may return to the Actions of those Kings, which ought to be distinctly deliver'd now at the Beginning, for the better Understanding of the Causes why they came to be Lost.

King of
Tydore
makes
Peace.

The King of *Tydore* was less Supported by *Spain* than he had been before, and was therefore oblig'd to sue for Peace, laying some Burden of Tribute, on his own Revenue proceeding from the Cloves. He also promis'd never to admit of any *Spanish* Succours; besides some other Conditions, which put an end to the Wars for a time.

Daroes,
and the
Queen go-
vern Ter-
nate.

We have already observ'd, That *Cachil Boleyse*, King of *Ternate*, left three lawful Sons, viz. *Cachil Bayano*, *Cachil Dayalo*, and *Cachil Tabarija*. The Eldest of them was not above six Years of Age; besides whom there were seven Bastards, the Eldest of them, *Cachil Daroes*, was Governor of the Kingdom, in Conjunction with the Queen. When *Brito*, in the Year 1521, Built the Fort, to secure the Subjection of the Island, tho' he had another Pretence for it, he took the Infant King, and the Queen his Mother, into it. She generously resenting this Violence, as not able to endure, that they should oppose the course of her Government, which she manag'd, together with her Step-Son, loudly Complain'd, and Threatned, as a Queen, and as a Mother. She wanted no Conveniencies for the Education of the Children; but there being Wrong disguiz'd among all that seeming Kindness, neither her Family, nor the Nurse, nor the Perswasions of Great Persons, could appease her Anger. The Natives observ'd the Difference of the *Portuguese* Domination, and that since their building of that Fort, they us'd intolerable Rigor, and consequently began to grow cold in their Affection, and to slacken in their Respect; especially when they perceiv'd that *Brito's* Successor continu'd to keep the Royal Family under Oppression. The young King was bred up in the Fort, till he was of Age to enter upon the Government of his Kingdom; and being 18 years old, soon dy'd, not without the usual suspicion of Poison, but it was affirm'd to be given by private order of *Cachil Daroes*. O the wonderful Effects of the Desire of Rule!

Portuguese
Insolent.

Sultan *Bayano* being Dead, order was taken that the People should immediately Swear *Cachil Dayalo*; but *Don George* found also means to get him into the Fort; the Mother demanding him, as fearing his Death, by the example of the Elder. *Don George* condescended, not so much in compliance to her Fears, as to oblige *Cachil Daroes*, with whose Government he was well-satisfy'd; and it was he that had interven'd in, and advis'd that way of Breeding the Princes. Soon after there happen'd an Accident, which broke off their good Intelligence; for *Daroes* grew jealous of the Commander in chiefs Behaviour, observing him much to favour *Cachil Bayaco*, a Man of note, whose Friendship he was suspicious of, and he with reason fear'd, that the Commander would in time value *Bayaco* more than him. This well grounded Fear grew up in his Breast, till it turn'd to down right Hatred, and he contriv'd to kill *Don George*. The Design could not be carry'd on so private, as to be conceal'd from him, and he to disappoint it, retir'd into the Fort. *Daroes* puffed up with the Applause of the People, sent immediately to require him to deliver up *Bayaco*, to try him

They In-
sult the
Natives.

him upon some Complaints he had against him, being his Judge, as Governour, and oblig'd to do Justice. *Don George* was desirous to save *Cachil Bayaco*, and to that purpose assembled the *Alcayde*, and other Officers. Some said he ought to deliver him, others advis'd to appease *Daroos* by fair means. *Bayaco*, who hated him so mortally, that he wou'd chuse any sort of Death, rather than fall into his Hands, being lock'd up in a Room of the Fort, understood that his Case was doubtful, for they Consulted without any great Privacy. This made him Resolve what to do, and going to a high Window, he threw himself out with such Fury, that he beat himself to Pieces. *Don George* was troubl'd at the Accident, and thought himself oblig'd to Revenge it; which he began upon finding a Sow kill'd, either to spight him, or because the Neighbours were *Mahometans*, and had done it as she graz'd, or went about the Courts of the Fort. This was a ridiculous Occasion, but of Moment enough among those People; Enquiry was made who had kill'd her, and it appear'd, or *Don George* would have it, that the fault belong'd to *Cachil Baydua*, a near Kinman to *Cachil Daroes*, very Learned, and Zealous in the Law of *Mahomet*, as also a *Caciz*, or Priest, and of great Authority in the Kingdom. He was seiz'd by *Don George*, and carry'd into the Fort, without regard to the publick Peace. *Daroos*, in a great Consternation, went with the chief Men of the Kingdom, to desire he would release that Sacred Person. Whilst they were discoursing this Point, *Peter Fernandez*, a mean Fellow, Servant to the Commander in Chief, by his Masters Order, or of his own Accord, in the Presence of them all, went up to *Cachil Baydua*, and rubb'd his Mouth, and Face with a fat Collop of the same Sow, neither the Opposition he made, nor his Complaints to God, and the Commander in Chief availing him; but on the contrary, the *Portugueses* laugh'd out aloud, approving the Action by their Applause. *Daroos* on his part, cast himself on the Ground, and Weeping, prevail'd to have *Baydua* restor'd to him, whom, *Don George* being satisfy'd, or pleas'd, and taking Security, sent to his House. *Daroos* attended him, and all the Prime Men; and *Baydua*, by Reason it is an Abomination among them to touch Swines-Flesh, presently used their Purifications; and the more to express his Concern, voluntarily left the Island for some Years, and travel'd about all the others in the Neighbourhood, preaching, and magnifying the Affront offer'd to one of *Mahomet's* Priests, thus stirring up the Natives, and perswading them to Unite in Defence of their Honour.

Rudeness.

This Accident, which as a Disgrace to their Religion, exasperated the People, was seconded by another much worse, which quite render'd the *Portugueses* Odious. The contrary Winds kept back the Trading Galeon, that us'd to carry the Soldiers Pay, and their Wants increasing, they began to seek Relief, breaking into the Natives Shops, and Store-Houses, and taking away their Provisions, without Paying for them. *Daroos*, offended at it, order'd, That no Provisions should be brought into the City to sell, and that the Shops which dealt in them, should be shut up. This was accordingly done, and reduc'd those in the Fort to such Distress, that the Soldiers mutinying, rail'd at their own Commander, and the Governor of *India*, demanding Relief with their Arms in their Hands. *Don George* being hard press'd, and blaming the Avarice of his Country Men, sent some

Portugueses become odious for Rapine, &c.

Barbarous
Cruelty.

Carcoas with Soldiers, under the Command of *Gomez Ariaz*, to barter Goods in the adjacent Islands for Provisions. They Landed on an Island near by, where, being desperate with Hunger, they Plunder'd the Town of *Tabona*, the Inhabitants whereof, no longer able to endure such Affronts, and Robberies, running to Arms, fell upon them, and kill'd the greatest Number, and most of the rest being Wounded, were Disarm'd. They embark'd for *Ternate*, where their Wounds and Nakedness spoke what had befallen them, as much as their Words. *Don George*, who, besides his being naturally Passionate, was now quite enrag'd, threatned *Daroes*, That if he did not deliver up the principal Actors in this Mischief, he would seek his Revenge other ways. He was obey'd, and tho' *Cachil Daroes* knew that all the Fault belong'd to the *Portugueses*, yet he deliver'd up the Governor of *Tabona*, and two other Chief Men of the Place, to *Don George*, thinking he would be satisfy'd with keeping them Prisoners for some Days. As soon as they were brought before him, he order'd the Hands of the two to be cut off, and that they should be then set at liberty. The Governors Punishment was answerable to the Cruelty of him that was his Judge; they ty'd his Hands behind his Back, and exposing him on the Shore, set two fierce Woolf-Dogs upon him, he having no way to withstand their Fury, made several vain attempts to slip aside from them, and endeavour'd to defend himself with what little Power was left him in those Limbs that were not Bound. The Multitude with Horror beheld the Spectacle, touch'd with Compassion, and admiring the Inhumanity of the Punishment. The wretched Man attempted to Fly, but perceiving that the arm'd Soldiers, had shut up every way, on the Land side, he cast himself into the Sea, the only Refuge accidentally left him, to seek some uncertain Hope of Safety. However the Dogs being already blooded, left him not; but barking and howling, bit and tore him, tho' he still swam with his Legs. At last, being desperate, and almost in the last Agony, he took a horrid Resolution and fell upon those fierce Creatures with his Teeth; such was the Effect of Pain and Despair. Thus the unhappy Man took hold of one of the Dogs by the Ear, and holding fast, sunk with him to the Bottom. The like Barbarity had never before been seen in any of those Countries to which the *Portugueses* Traded; and by it they lost the Reputation they had before gain'd, to their great Applause, that they inflicted Punishments, as it were by Compulsion, and Oblig'd to it, and that with Mildness, and Compassion, to shew their Generosity.

Conspiracy
to destroy
the Portu-
gueses.

This Action brought them into general Hatred, and all the People of the *Molucco* Islands being excited by *Cachil Daroes*, contriv'd to kill *Don George*, with all the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards*, and so deliver themselves from their Yoke. *Daroes* undertook to Unite all the Kings of those Islands in a League against the Christians; sent away trusty Persons to stir up the Confederates; and particularly to *Cachil Catabruno*, Governor of *Gilolo*, during that Kings Minority, advising him, at a Time appointed, to rise in Arms against the *Spaniards* inhabiting his Dominions, and then to kill the Infant King, and Usurp the Crown; for the compassing whereof he promis'd his Assistance, for they should both make that their common Cause, because he design'd the same Slaughter upon the *Portugueses*, and upon the Infant King *Sultan Dayalo*, whom he would Succeed in the Throne, and never submit to.

to any *Spanish* Tyranny. At this time the Voice of the Gospel resounded in the Ears of the Barbarous Nations of the *Archipelago*, by the Preaching of the Religious Men of the Orders of *St. Augustin*, *St. Dominick*, and *St. Francis*, and of Father *Francis Naverius*, a *Jesuit*, and his Companions; Churches were built, and therefore God, who was taught by them, would not suffer the Ministers of the Gospel to be extirpated. *Don George* was inform'd of the Conspiracy, and the Preparations that were making to put it in Execution, which he kept to himself. *Daroës*, the better to dissemble it, never absented himself, but resorted to the Fort, and paid Visits to the Governour; sometimes when sent for by him, and others, of his own Accord. He sent one Day desiring he would come to him, and bring *Cachil Tamarano*, Admiral of the Island, and *Cachil Boio*, the chief Justice of the Kingdom, to treat about some important Affairs. *Cachil Daroës* knowing nothing of *Don George's* Design, took those two *Cachils* with him, and went away to the Fort. *Don George* receiv'd them courteously, and with a cheerful Countenance; but being come into a Room where all Things were prepar'd for the Purpose, they were seiz'd and put to the Rack, on which they discover'd the Conspiracy. Immediately he pass'd Sentence upon them in Form, and at the same time caus'd a Scaffold to be erected, adjoining to the Fort, on the Outside, where the People were already gather'd in a Crowd. Then *Cachil Daroës* being brought out, and plac'd high on the Scaffold, a Cryer proclaim'd his Crimes, and the Penalty he was condemn'd to. His Head was cut off, and his Companions put to a less honourable Death; but what that was, no History or Relations inform us.

Daroës and others put to Death.

The Queen and all the Natives, were so terrify'd by this Action, that they fled out of the City, to a craggy strong Mountain at the Town of *Toruto*: Thence the Queen sent to demand her Son, whom the Governour kept as a Prisoner; but he not answering her Letter, she was so offended at, and jealous of his Silence, that she caus'd Proclamation to be made, forbidding all the People of the Island, upon Pain of Death, to sell any Provisions, or other Necessaries, to the *Portugueses*. Her Orders were readily obey'd, and the *Portugueses* press'd by Hunger, found it a more powerful Enemy, than those they had wrong'd. Their Skins began to shrivel, they grew Lank and Weak, and must have perish'd, had not *Gonzalo Pereyra* arriv'd then with the Trading Galeon. *Gonzalo Pereyra* came from *Malaca* to succeed *Don George de Meneses* in the Post of *Ternate*; and improving the Opportunity, touch'd at *Borneo*, where he visited the King, with whom, the *Spaniards* not obstructing, he settled perpetual Peace and Amity; thence he set out immediately for *Ternate*, where he arriv'd in Safety. He presently took Possession of the Fort, and paid the weak Soldiers. The Queen sent to visit him, and to complain of *Don George*, and demand her Son *Cachil Dayalo*, which was her greatest Concern. *Gonzalo Pereyra* answer'd her generously, promis'd to do her Justice; and to begin, secur'd *Don George* in the Principal Tower, to appease the Queen, engaging in Word, That he would restore her Son, as soon as the Fort was in a good posture. He sent to intreat her to return to the City, and former Amity; that Justice might be peaceably administer'd. She seeing some Effects of his Promise, in the Imprisonment of her

Native-ry, and strengthen the Portugueses.

New Governour.

her Enemy, and the Expectation of Releasing the King her Son, turn'd past Sorrow into Joy, return'd to Court, and *Gonzalo Pereyra* reform'd Abuses, repair'd the Fort, and built Bastions of Square Stone, which till then had been unhew'd, the Queen furnishing Workmen and Materials. Still *Cachil Dayalo* was detain'd in the Fort, without being restor'd to his Liberty; and the Queen and People help'd to build the Fort, as the sure Means of obtaining their King's Liberty. *Gonzalo Pereyra*, when he thought it a proper Time, resolv'd to execute some Orders he had brought from *Goa*, which were the same that had before endanger'd the Disturbance of those Kingdoms.

Fresh Up-
roars
caus'd by
the Gover-
nour.

Some Governours, says the *Portuguese* Historian, *Conto*, only study to enrich themselves, impoverishing the Provinces, and their King; for no Prince can be rich, if his Grandeur depends upon poor Subjects. The Governour now perceiving that all Things were quiet, and he had little or no Dependance on those People, made Proclamation, that none should buy Cloves in those Islands, but the King, his Master's Factors. At the same Time he order'd, that his Officers should enter the Houses of marry'd Men, which are the Richest, and take away all their Cloves; and this not only among the Natives, but in the Habitations, and Colonies of the *Portuguese*, paying for it after the Country Rate; and that they should break all their Weights, Scales and Measures, and other Implements of this Sort, all which he caus'd to be publicly burnt. The Island was again in an Uproar, and the *Portuguese* were for quitting it, because it was to no Purpose to live there, if they were depriv'd of that Trade. Most of the *Portuguese* repair'd to the House of *Ferdinand Lopez*, a Priest, who was the Bishop's Vicar in the Fort, and ought to have given them an Example of Modesty. There one *Vincent Fonseca*, a seditious Fellow, heading the Mutiniers, they resolv'd to require the Governour to permit them to live in their former Liberty; and in case he should not Consent, they would depart the Fort, and the Country, and go over to the *Spaniards*, or else to the *Mahometans*, and Idolaters Towns. Some there were, who boggled at the Crime of abandoning the Service of their King, together with the Fort; and voted it would be less Harm to procure the Governour's Death, by Means of the Natives. Whilst they were thus unresolv'd, the Governour sent to seize *Vincent du Fonseca*, for some disrespectful Words he had spoken upon this Occasion, to another Soldier who was viewing the Guards. The Multitude, who had already given themselves up to the Direction of *Fonseca*, were as much concern'd at his Imprisonment, as if every one of them had been put into Irons; and as generally in such Mutinies, they are not without some specious Pretence, tho' it be but superficial, many of the Seditious, being incens'd, and resolute, repair'd to the Queen's Palace, where they were easily admitted, and some of them to more Privacy with certain Counsellors of her's. There they represented the Hardship of depriving them of the Trade of Clove, without any Demerit on their Side. But, said they, *they may as well deprive us of this common Air, of this Light, and of the Benefit of our Senses. Our Kings give no such Orders; but they proceed from the Avarice of the Governours and Commanders, who tyrannize over us, and this Man more than all his Predecessors, being come to destroy, that which he was sent to preserve.*

Portugue-
ses mutiny.

He

He has no Design to restore your Majesty your Son : but on the contrary we are satisfy'd he contrives to destroy both the Son and the Mother. Her he will secure, as soon as he has brought his Works to perfection, that he may not be again kept from Provisions. If you will stand up for your Country, and kill the Commander, we shall not obstruct it, but on the contrary shall be as vigorous to act against him, as we are ready to promise it.

The Queen and her Councillors were well pleas'd, hoping by that means to get rid of Tyrants, as they call'd them, and therefore would not let slip so favourable an opportunity to compass their Ends. The Queen assembled the prime Men of the Island ; represented to them the Condition it was in ; put them in mind, how King *Boleyse* her Husband, protected the *Portugueses*, who came thither in Distress ; how they had sworn Amity, and solemnly given their Hands upon it ; the Honour and Kindness he show'd them ; and that for their sakes he forfeited the good will of the Neighbouring Princes ; that after he had receiv'd them, he maintain'd Wars, and sustain'd losses, even to the hazard of his life, to protect them ; that he treated them as affectionately as if they had been his own Children ; and how they, in return for his Entertainment and Favours, *as soon as the Breath was out of his Body, presun'd, said she, to lay violent Hands on me ; from whose Tyranny and Oppression I escaped, by absconding long among the Rocks, and Brambles. My Children, they snatch'd from their Nurses Breasts, to confine them in Prison ; in their own Kingdom, and among their Subjects. When Cacnil Bayano came to age to govern, they poison'd him. They now design after the same manner to destroy his Brother, a lawful King, as if he were some run-away Slave. See what regard a parcel of intruding Strangers have for your Fortunes, your Houses, your Daughters, and your Wives, in your own Country, and in my Presence. Any one of these things ought to be a sufficient motive to cast off the Yoke we laid upon our Necks through our own Credulity. What then will not they all together oblige us to do ? But besides all this, what ought we not to do, seeing our Religion affronted ? Our Temples polluted ? Our Priests trampled on ? And all our selves in general despis'd ? Can you have a greater Testimony of the justice of your Cause, than to see the Portugueses themselves on your side ? Do not let slip this Opportunity, my Friends, stand by them, since they promise to assist us. Deliver by their means your King, your Country, and your Religion : that all these may be afterwards rescu'd from them, and we may exclude such ungrateful Guests.*

*The Queen
stirs up her
People.*

These and other Exhortations made by the Queen, as *Maseus* writes in *Conspiracy* his *Latin History*, were receiv'd with Abundance of Tears, and they all engag'd to put their helping hands to the execution of what had been concerted ; and fixt the day and hour. Great Dissimulation was us'd, and the Queen forwarded the work of the Fort with much application, without sparing any Cost, giving out, so as it might come to the Governour's Ears, That the King her Sons Liberty depended on the finishing of the Fort. This was the effect of Motherly Affection. The appointed Day being come, the Natives appear'd in Arms, just during the scorching Heat of the Noon-day ; Some hid themselves in a Mosque, behind the Fort ; others in a Wood, not far off, all of them ready to assault it, upon a Signal given, they being to enter at a Breach, which was not yet made up. Some

of

His Death.

of the Arm'd Islanders slyly mixt themselves among the Masons, and Labourers, and among the King's Servants, who were going and coming with kind Messages between the Son and the Mother, and by this means convey'd him his Arms, and being us'd to talk to him freely at other times, they had then the Opportunity of acquainting him with the Design, and advising to be in a readiness to fall on boldly in due time. Thence they went to the Governour's Apartment, where he was taking his Afternoons Nap in all possible Security, his whole Family being asleep. The *Ternates* burst the Doors open with their Shoulders, and rush'd upon the Governour, whom the noise had awak'd. He defended himself with his Sword and Buckler for a considerable space; but his Enemies being numerous, and all pressing forwards, they cut him in pieces. A Woman-slave of his hearing the Hubbub, shriek'd out, which with the other Noise brought the Islanders out of the Mosque, without expecting the Signal. They laid hold of a *Portuguese* they met, but he broke loose, and escap'd their Fury by flight. The Slave continu'd crying out, *Moors, Moors*. With this the Governour's Servants came running arm'd, and going up to the chief Tower, where their Master was wont to divert himself, found all the Murderers there, whom they laid hold of, and cast down headlong, and then shut the Gates of the Fort. Then they rang the Bell, the sound whereof, and their not hearing the Signal, discourag'd the *Ternates* who lay in Ambush, so that they slunk away into the City.

Fonseca made Governour.

The *Portugues* Conspirators went slyly dissembling into the Fort, and finding the Governour dead, requir'd the rest in his place to admit of the *Alcayde*, or Constable of the Fort, because the King of *Portugal* had so order'd. They refus'd him, and particularly the Vicar, who took upon him to head them all, and prevail'd so far that they chose *Vincent de Fonseca* for their Governour, who immediately took Possession of the Fort, and beginning to go on in the Tyrannical Design of *Gonzalo Pereyra*, left the Trade of Clove as it was before; but secur'd King *Dayalo*. No notice was taken of the Governour's Death, as being executed by the consent of them all. The Queen insisted to demand her Son, since she had furnish'd all Necessaries for that Work; *Vincent Fonseca* refer'd the Answer to the Marry'd Men. All those Nations are of opinion that the discreetest among them are the Marry'd Men, both on account of their Age, and as more faithful Councillors, because they have a greater interest in the publick Good, and therefore it is usual to refer to them all Debates and Answers in matters of Difficulty. They all voted, That the Queen should not have her Son deliver'd to her, because it was convenient to keep him as an Hostage, fearing the second part of what had been concerted, and that their Friendships would last no longer than till it could be executed. But to palliate the true cause of detaining him, they answered, That they must first acquaint the Governour of *India*. In the mean while the Mother did not cease to weep, and to intreat. She fed upon these Hopes, grounded on the Hatred the *Portugueses* still retain'd for *Pereyra*, and on the Generosity she had us'd in restoring the Trade of Clove, and other means. The most prevalent of these seem'd to be the gaining the affections of the Marry'd *Portugueses*, to whom that Affair was refer'd, and under-hand of *Vincent Fonseca* himself, by rich Presents, and extraordinary Gifts. But she was
for

soon undeceived, for *Fonsfeca* offered her such Reasons or Excuses, as proved his Tyrannical Design; alledging, that having already sent to consult the Governour of *India* about the King's Liberty, it was not in his power to come to any Resolution in that affair, till the Answer came from *Goa*, for they would cut off his Head, should he go about to act of himself. The Queen perceiving that neither Gifts, nor Intreaties would prevail to get her Son, she resolv'd to use Force.

She stir'd up all the Neighbouring Kingdoms against the *Portugueses*; and order'd the Provisions to be all remov'd, that none might come to the Fort, either by Sea or Land. Those within began to feel the want of all Necessaries, to such a degree, that they su'd to the Queen for Peace, which was concluded, and they gave up her Son, which was the only thing she aim'd at, without regarding the inconveniency of losing the Fort. The Queen having obtain'd the King's Liberty, granted the *Portugueses* all the Conditions they demanded, and was so thoroughly pleas'd that the Christians continu'd their Settlements and Colonies, and Trade, and Provisions were restor'd. The Queen put the Government into the hands of her Son, who at first shew'd some Severity and Harshness towards the prime Men, and discover'd some Weaknesses, which till then his Confinement had either conceal'd, or suppress'd. These things render'd him so odious, that the case was alter'd, and they would have been glad he had been Prisoner again. The Mother could not curb his ill Inclination, for the extravagant Youth's depriv'd Nature would not allow of it.

The Queen recovers her Son by force.

At this time three mean Fellows of the *Portugueses* Colony, went to those of the Natives to rob; besides which they ravish'd some Women. The Islanders would not bear with that Insolence; but those who had been wrong'd in revenge kill'd the Offenders. *Vincent de Fonsfeca* hearing of it, magnify'd the Heinousness of the Fact, without mentioning his Countrymen's Guilt, and order'd strict Enquiry to be made after the Slayers. What Care ought Princes to take to secure the Affection of their Subjects. The King was so hated, that certain Natives went to the Governour, and being conducted into a private part of the Fort, because they were Men of Quality, they assur'd him that the King had been the Occasion of the killing of those *Portugueses*, grounding the Accusation on their own Surmises, and aggravating the Offence with other Circumstances, in such manner, that had *Fonsfeca* lov'd the King, he could not but have believ'd them. He presently contriv'd to seize him; but being impatient, and despairing of securing him by Art, had recourse to Force. The King did the like, tho' sensible how little Assistance he could expect from his People, however he arm'd a few Vessels, and falling upon some Christian Towns, took several Prisoners. The Governour on the other Hand, without sparing *Ternate*, attacked what Towns he could, so that Cruelty and Rapine were again in use, even to assaulting of Cities, the very Sufferers approving of it, and pleas'd with their Losses, that so they might be reveng'd of their King. He fearing that the Hatred they bore him, might occasion his being seiz'd and deliver'd up to *Fonsfeca*, went over to *Tydore*, where that King for the present entertain'd and assist'd him, as a Friend and Relation. The Governour sent with speed to call the King's younger Brother, named *Sultan Tabarija*, who was fled with some Malecontents, and with the consent of

Portuguese Robbers kill'd.

King of Ternate flies.

Sultan Tabarija
was King.

all the rest of the People, who were before no less dissatisfy'd, proclaim'd him King, with all the Forms and Ceremonies us'd in that case. Many approv'd of it, yet some were scandaliz'd. The same Division reign'd among the *Portugueses*, remembring the unjust Election of *Vincent de Fonseca*, and that he was the first and main instrument of the Death of *Gonzalo Pereyra*. *Fonseca* himself was not at Peace with his own Conscience; but so full of Apprehensions and Dread, that he was never unarm'd, disconsolate, melancholy, and attended by all those ill Symptoms, the Memory of Guilt produces in the Mind; and he could wish he were discharg'd of the Burden he had taken upon him. The new King *Tabarija* began his Reign shewing Kindness to all Men, and cherishing the *Portugueses*, which offended his absent Brother; and administer'd occasion to irritate the Kings of *Tydoie* and *Ternate* against him so hastily, that he immediately broke the Peace, and declar'd himself their Enemy.

Tristan de Atayde
Governour
of Ternate.

At this time *Tristan de Atayde* came to *Ternate*, whose Presence brought all Things into better Form. He appeas'd the Queen, and commending *Tabarija's* Government, gain'd his Affection. Trade went on without any Obstruction. *Vincent de Fonseca* embark'd for *India*, and was seiz'd by the Viceroy of *Goa*, for the heinous Crimes he had committed in the *Molucco* Islands, whence a full Account of them was sent with him; yet he was not punish'd, but liv'd quietly for the future. *Ternate* flourish'd under this mild Government; the King, his Subjects, and the *Portuguese* Officers being united; but all those Garrisons so remote from the Head, being Receptracles of seditious Persons, who are contriving Innovations to disturb the Peace, and thrive by Discord, there wanted not some Promoters of such Changes, who perverted *Tristan de Atayde*, and divested him of his former Mildness. About the beginning of his Government two *Carcoas* of Barbarians plunder'd and almost destroy'd the City *Momoya*, the Inhabitants whereof were Idolaters, in the Island *Moro*. The Lord of it a powerful *Sangiack*, and good Moral Man, tho' a Heathen, made his Escape. *Gonzalo Velloso*, a *Portuguese*, was then not far from his City, following his Trade, and going thither, upon his paying a Visit to the *Sangiack*, he told him the Havock that had been made, complaining of the dangerous Neighbourhood of the other Islanders, and asking his Advice, how he might be reveng'd and secur'd for the future. *Velloso*, God directing his Tongue, told him, That the surest way was to sue for Peace to the Commander in chief of the *Moluccos*, and entertain Amity with the *Portugueses*, for if his Enemies once saw he was supported by their Power, no King nor *Sangiack* would dare to offend him. He assur'd him that the King of *Portugal* sent them for that End, being oblig'd to put down Tyranny and Oppression; but that for the obtaining that benefit more fully, it was requisite he should become a Christian; for by that means he would save his Soul, and secure his Escape, which was the least important of the two. *Velloso* said so much to this Point, and the Spirit which directed, suggested such important Truths, that the *Sangiack* at first admiring them, approv'd and submitted to them, and grew very earnest to be admitted to Baptism. He desir'd *Gonzalo Velloso* to be assisting to him, and gathering some of his Family and Friends, they set out for *Ternate*, the *Sangiack* himself staying behind for their Answer. The Heathens came with *Velloso*

A *Sangiack*
converted.

so to Ternate, where they were generously received, and entertain'd by *Tristan de Ataide*. Having heard what they came about, he put them all into the Christian Habit, appointing Clergy-men to instruct and Catechize them. Being thus prepar'd, they receiv'd Baptism with extraordinary satisfaction, the Commander in chief being their God-father. Then he commended the *Sangiack's* Resolution, shewing how advantageous it would be to him to become a Son of the Church, and reject the abominable and foul Ceremonies of Idolatry, in which he had liv'd. He sent him word, to appoint the Day and Place for being Baptiz'd, and he would see all perform'd as he should direct, for which Reason he left it to his Choice. The Messengers returning to *Momoya*, were not only proud of having embrac'd the Christian Faith, but of the good Usage they receiv'd from the Governour and other Christians, telling the *Sangiack* all that had happen'd, and the Answer they brought him. The *Sangiack*, led by his own inclination, and encourag'd by their Account, imbark'd in some *Carcoas* with the greatest Splendor of Musick and Gayety he was able. Being come in Sight of Ternate, *Tristan de Ataide* went out to meet him with no less Pomp. He lodg'd and entertain'd him accordingly, and order'd a Learned and Religious Man to Catechize and instruct him. Some Days after when the Cathecumens were fitted for it, they receiv'd Baptism, with publick Rejoycings, and greater Solemnity than had ever been seen in Ternate. There was not a Christian but what brought Palm-Branches and Flowers from that natural Garden of the Island; besides Musick, Dancing, Firing of great Guns, and even the very Barbarians rejoyc'd. The *Sangiack* in Baptism took the Name of *Don John*; he stay'd some Days rejoycing and Feasting with the *Portugueses*, and then return'd home, taking along with him the Priest that instructed him, call'd *Simon Vaz*, to improve him in the Knowledge of the Faith. That Priest liv'd with him some Years in his City, leading an Exemplar Life, and exercising himself in Works of Officious and pure Charity, by which means he converted great Numbers of Heathens, and particularly the Inhabitants of *Momoya*. But being alone, and the Number of those God was pleas'd for his Glory, to bring to him increasing very fast, he sent to *Tristan de Atayde* for another Priest to assist him in that Function, and he accordingly sent *F. Francis Alvarez*. They both in a short time converted the Infidels of that Part, throwing down all the *Pagodes*, so they call'd their Idols, cleansing those Places, and converting the Houses of Abomination and Darkness into Churches of the living God. *Tristan de Atayde* so far favour'd the new *Don John*, as to send along with him some *Portuguese* Soldiers to defend his Person and Fort, and this Prince maintain'd very friendly Correspondence with him. His End we shall soon see and admire in the Sequel of this History.

The People of Ternate at the same time took another Course, for they hating *Sultan Tabarija*, and desiring his Death, talk'd with the Governour in private, and gave him to understand that his Life was in Danger, for *Tabarija* contriv'd to kill him, as had been done by *Gonzalo Perceyra*, that so he might seize the Fort, turning out the *Portugueses*. The Governour hearing his Life, and the Fort were both in Jeopardy, and calling to mind the yet fresh Example of his Predecessor, easily believ'd the Design, but cunningly dissembled. He contriv'd that some *Portugueses* on account

*Portugueses
serve the
King.*

His Con-
version and
Death.

of real or pretended Differences should have Recourſe to the King's Favour, as ſometimes they uſ'd to do, and ſhould prevail upon him to come to the Fort to ſpeak for them. He was apply'd to by ſome, and like an innocent Man ſuſpecting nothing, went to the Fort to intercede for them. He was immediately ſeiz'd and loaded with Irons, and being brought to Trial, the ſame Perſons that contriv'd his Imprifonment, appear'd as Witneſſes againſt him. After a tedious Examination, or ſhow of it, the Reſult was, that he ſhould be ſent to *India* to juſtifie himſelf. He embark'd with a ſafe Conſcience, and his Cauſe being examin'd before the Viceroy *Antony Barreto* at *Goa*, he was clear'd, and confeſſing the Holy Spirit had taken that method to draw him to Salvation, was Baptiz'd in that City with great Satisfaction, by the Name of *Don Emanuel*. In his Return homewards, expecting the *Monſon* at *Malaca* to put to Sea, he dy'd with extraordinary Tokens of a ſincere Chriſtian; and having no lawful Heir, appointed King *John* the Third of *Portugal* to ſucceed him in all his Kingdoms. The Will was afterwards carry'd to *Ternate*, where the great Ones and Commonalty accepted of it, owning King *John* for their Sovereign. This was perform'd with Acclamations in the Streets and publick Places, as alſo in the Courts of Judicature, taking Poſſeſſion with the Royal Standard of *Portugal* diſplay'd, and all other uſual Solemnities and Ceremonies. In the Year 1549, *Jordan de Freytas* carry'd the publick Inſtruments of the Poſſeſſion to *Lisbon*.

The Me-
lancholy
Tree, and
Flower.

To return to the Courſe of the Hiſtory when *Triſtan de Alayde* had Im-
bark'd King *Tabarija* for *India*, he ſought out for a Baſtard Brother of
his call'd *Aerio*, born of a *Javaneſe* Mother. The Lad was then ten years
of Age, bred by his Mother in a retir'd manner, at a Pleaſure-Houſe en-
compaſs'd with perpetual Greens, the natural Diſpoſition being improv'd
by Art; which ſo far prevail'd that the Flower ſo wonderful for its Fra-
gancy and manner of growing call'd *Triſte*, or melancholy; found only in
Malabar and *Malaca*, abounded in this Ladies Gardens. She ador'd the
Sun, and brought up her Child in that Folly, that he might forget the
Rudiments he learnt at *Goa*, when in the Colledge of the *Jefuits*. The
Idolaters believe, or feign, that a moſt beautiful Daughter of *Parizataco*, a
Satrapa, or Nobleman, fell in love with the Sun, and that he after com-
plying with, and obliging her, ſetled his Affections on another, and the
fiſt not able to endure that another ſhould be preferr'd before her, kill'd
her ſelf. From her Aſhes, for in thoſe parts they ſtill retain the Cuſtom
of burning dead Bodies, ſprung that *Melancholy Tree*, ſay they, whoſe
Bloſſoms or Flowers ſtill preſerving the Memory of their Original, have
ſuch a Hatred for the Sun, that they cannot bear his Light. This Plant
is call'd in the *Canarine* Tongue *Parizataco*, from the *Indian* Womans Fa-
ther, who was Metamorphos'd like *Daphne*, tho' on another Account. The
Malayes call it *Singadi*; the *Arabs*, *Guart*; the *Persians* and *Turks*, *Gul*;
the *Decanines*, *Pul*; and the *Portugueſe*, *Arvore Triſte*; that is, the Me-
lancholy Tree. It ſhoots out abundance of ſlender Branches, regularly di-
vided by Knots, from each of which two Leaves ſprout, oppoſite to one
another, like thoſe of the Plum-Tree, but ſoft like Sage, and cover'd with
a white Down. From each Leaf ſprouts a Nib, or Nipple, whence five
Heads ſhoot out ſmall at the end, each of them adorn'd with four ſmaller

round Leaves; from each little Head proceed five Flowers, the fifth in the midst of the other four; among them the white Flowers visibly grow out, being bigger than Orange Flowers, and so fast after Night fall, that the Motion of them is perceptible. This Fruitfulness lasts all the Night, till the Appearing of the Sun renders it barren, and causes all the Flowers and Leaves to drop off, the Boughs remaining wither'd. On a sudden all that Fragrancy ceases, which enrich'd the Air with all the sweet Odours of Asia, included in this alone; till the Sun leaving the Horizon again, the Plant again flourishes in its beloved Darkness, as if it then retriev'd the Wrong it receiv'd from the Light. The *Asiatics* are excessively fond of Perfumes, which is an Argument of their Lasciviousness. Great Taxes are laid in several Provinces, on all sweet Scents.

The *Portugueses* came arm'd to that House, where the aforesaid Princess bred her Son, and demanded him in the Name of *Tristan de Atayde*; she would willingly have hid him, but could not, and therefore began to excuse her self, and beg they would leave him. It avail'd nothing, for the Messengers had Orders not to return without him, and to gain her Consent, swore they would carry him to reign in the stead of *Tabarija*, and that as soon as he came to the Fort, he should be received as King, both by the *Ternates* and *Portugueses*. Some Relations tell us, that then the Mother, shedding Abundance of Tears, streightly embracing the Prince, cry'd out, saying, *Were I assur'd that you took him away to reign peaceably, without any Opposition, or Apprehension, well belov'd and obey'd by his Subjects, and in settled Prosperity, undisturb'd by any Frights; yet would I rather see him grow up and continue in a private Life, without burdening himself with any publick Concern, than that he should reign to please your Humour; this was my Intention in retiring with him, and I would gladly conceal him from all humane Conversation. If so, what can I think of what you now promise me? Will it be reasonable, that I deliver you my Son to receive the Crown, and that you at the same time design him for Imprisonment and Fetters, from which nothing shall, or can possibly deliver him but Poison and false Accusations, which have brought his Brothers and Parents to their End? What Security have I from Fortune, that she will in this Child be reconciled to that Family, which she has condemned to immortal Enmity with the Europeans, in Requital for having friendly entertain'd them; and decreed that, instead of the Protection it hop'd to find in your Arms, you should lay on it an intollerable Yoke? Leave us then, both Mother and Son, to employ our selves about the Works of Nature, since costly Experience has so fully undeceived us as to the Effects of Fortune. Permit us to divert the Thoughts of them, with the Quiet, and Improvements of these Gardens. Let us be allow'd to want that which so many seek after.* James de Couto, in his *Decades* relates this Fact, and the Mother's Lamentation, and Words. The *Portugueses*, no longer able to give Ear to those dismal Reflections, which did not savour of a barbarous Woman, ran up to her, and forc'd away her Son, whom she struggled to defend. He, says the same Author, observing his Mother's Tears, and the Reasons she alledg'd for not parting with him, and having some anticipated Notion of the Sweetness of Reigning, which he had not yet tasted, stood gazing on her and them, full of Confusion. The Rudeness, and Insolence

Portugueses sent to fetch Aerio.

His Mother's Speech to keep him.

The Portuguese
murder
her.

Confederacy
against
them.

Difference
about the
Moluccos,
between
Spain and
Portugal.

of the Soldiers put an End to all ; for tho' they had no such Orders from their Commander, being deaf to, and weary of hearing the Complaints of a Disconsolate Woman ; they at the same time seiz'd the Son, and laying hold of the Mother, cast her headlong out at the Window : The new King was carry'd to the Fort, and at the same time that the Subjects swore Fidelity to him, they with general Lamentation celebrated his Mother's Obsequies, which were perform'd with greater Solemnity, than even those of the Principal Queens. This Inhumanity exceeding even the *Cannibals*, and consequently unworthy the pretended *Portugueses* Bravery ; being bruited Abroad in the Neighbouring Provinces, produc'd that just Hatred which was of Force to unite ; and actually drew into a Confederacy all the Kings of the *Archipelago*, against the *Portugueses*. They assembled in Council, and in the Meeting concerted their Design, declaring that the Oppression they were under, was intollerable, the *Portugueses* making and deposing Kings to thier own Humour and Fancy, insulting those Crowns which had given them the Power they had abus'd, contrary to all Laws of Humanity, without allowing the Natives so much as a Vote in Elections. Having agreed upon the Enterprize, they provided all Things for the Execution, whilst the appointed Time came, which they diligently made as short as might be, and expected with Dissimulation.

The *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Fleets at this Time continu'd their Voyages to the *Archipelago*, their several known Ways ; the *Spaniards* from *New Spain* to the *Phillippine* Islands ; the *Portugueses* along the Coasts of *Africk*, and so to *Malaca*. Both Sides exercised their Power, and carry'd on their Trade with Ambition, and, as some say, with Cruelty ; but the most bloody Theatre of continual Tragedies, was *Ternate* and all the *Molucco's*. There both Nations of *Castile* and *Portugal* decided their Quarrel by the Sword, whilst their Kings in *Europe* only contended by Dint of Cunning, and Cosmography. At this time the Matter was not so plain, as when the Cosmographers and Commissioners on both Sides, lay'd down the Meridian, whereby to assign each of them one half of the World to their King. For the Admiral *Christopher Columbus* returning from his first Discovery of the *West-Indies*, in the Year 1493. Pope *Alexander* the VIth. granted the Investiture of them, for the Crown of *Castile*, to their Catholick Majesties, King *Ferdinand*, and Queen *Isabel*, or *Elizabeth* ; and to obviate the Differences that might arise between the two Crowns, to the obstructing the Propagation of the Gospel, by the same Apostolical Authority, which in that spiritual Capacity is not limited to any part of the Globe, he divided it betwixt those two Crowns, ordering a Line to be drawn along the Heavens to cut both the Poles, distant on the Earth one hundred Leagues from the Islands of the *Azores* and *Cabo Verde*. By Vertue of this Division, the Emperor pretended that the *Molucco* Islands were within his Limits, ever since *Gonzalo Gomez de Espinosa*, his Commander in chief, *Sebastian del Cano*, and his Companions, who went with *Magellan*, took Possession of them for his Crown. Pretending at the same Time, that they were the first Christians that arriv'd at the *Moluccos*, and that then he was own'd as Sovereign by *Sultan Corala*, King of *Ternate*, who reign'd before *Sultan Bungue* ; by *Sultan Almanzor*, King of *Tyde*, by *Luzuf*, King of *Gilolo*, and other Princes, who all swore Fealty

Fealty by their Idols, and the *Alcoran*; and that *Gonzalo Gomez* admitted them, and swore to the Observance of what had been agreed on, in his King's Name, before an Image of the Blessed Virgin. He urg'd, that by Mathematical Demonstration, and the Judgment of Men learned in that Faculty, it appear'd, that the *Moluccos* were within the Limits of *Castile*, as were all others, as far as *Malaca*, and even beyond it. That it was no easy Undertaking for *Portugal* to go about to disprove the Writings of so many Cosmographers, and such able Mariners; and particularly the Opinion of *Magellan*, who was himself a *Portuguese*. And that in Case he might be thought partial, because of his being disoblig'd in *Portugal*, that Exception did not lie against *Francis Serrano*, who was also a *Portuguese*, and had been favour'd and cherish'd. That to say the Sea Charts had been maliciously contriv'd, was a groundless Objection, and not probable. Besides that, in Relation to the Article of Possession, on which the Controversy depended, it was only requisite to stand by what was writ by, and receiv'd among Cosmographers.

Argument
for Spain.

In Answer to this, King *John* of *Portugal*, deny'd the Fact of the Discovery, as to its Precedency; for *Serrano's* was in the Year 1511, and that of *Magellan's* Companions nine Years later, in 1520. He declar'd the Globes, Astrolabes, and Sea Charts to be partial, and that in Case they were rectify'd, drawing the aforesaid Meridian, according to Rules of Astrology, his Limits would not only comprehend the *Moluccos*, but reach far beyond the *Philippine* Islands. He offer'd King *Tabarija's* last Will on his Behalf; and said, that if the Line were fairly drawn, observing Eclipses, as had been done sometimes, the Truth of his Assertion would appear. To this they added, the Papers of the Geographer and Astrologer, *Andrew de S. Martin*, by which it appear'd, that he sailing with *Magellan*, his before unattempted Voyage, had observed several Eclipses, and Oppositions. Among the rest, on the 17th of *December*, 1519. He in the River call'd *Rio de Jancyro*, took an Observation of a Conjunction of *Jupiter* and the *Moon*; on the first of *February* 1520, another of the *Moon* and *Venus*; soon after another of the *Sun* and *Moon*, after passing the Streights, another Opposition of the *Sun* and *Moon*, and others at other times; all which, tho' calculated by him to the Meridian of *Sevil*, avail'd nothing to his Design, which was to prove that the *Molucco* Islands did not belong to *Portugal*; for which Reason he found Fault with *John de Monteregio's* Tables and Almanacks. All these Papers were preserv'd by *Edward Resende* Factor at the *Moluccos*, a learned and curious Man. They said, that since there was then a Treaty about the Possession of those Islands; in a Case of that Consequence it was not proper, to avoid alledging, and examining the Grounds of their Property, to prevent the Decision of the Sword, which was the Court where that Controversy was pleaded; and when once it comes to that pass, there was no Possibility of standing to speculative Writing, which not being made good by Experience, must at least be look'd upon as uncertain.

Portuguese
Answer.

The Possession of the *Molucco* Islands was of great Consequence to the King of *Portugal*, for carrying on the Trade of Spice, and being inform'd of the War still maintain'd between his Subjects and the Emperor's, in those Parts, he daily us'd fresh Endeavours to bring that Business to some Conclusion, that so the War might cease. The Emperor had not so much

The Difference adjusted.

much Intelligence of what his Commanders did in *Asia*; because the *Portuguese* suffer'd no Ships, but their own to pass by the Cape of *Good Hope*; and the way of *New-Spain*, that Voyage was not much frequented, and therefore not so well known; and besides all this he then stood in need of a great Sum of Money. In the Year 1525, there was a Treaty at *Segovia*, by his Majesties Order, for composing of this Difference, and in 1526 it was held at *Sevil*, where the *Portuguese* Embassador; and the Licenciate *Azevedo* of that Kings Council, were met by the Bishops of *Osma*, President of the Council of the *Indies*, Doctor *Laurence Galindez*, of the same Council, and *Don Garcia de Padilla*, first Commendary of *Calatrava*, on the Emperor's side, as Commissioners, and Plenipotentiaries, besides the Lord-High-Chancellor, and the Popes Nuncio, *Mercurio Gatnara*. After many Meetings, and much Strife, to which there were also Civilians, Geographers, and Mariners admitted; all which only puzzled the Cause, whence ensu'd Law Suits, Arbitrations, and other Fruitless Negotiations in *Spain*, and Wars in *Asia* between the Ships of both Crowns: After all this there was a Cessation, and Quietness, the Emperor Mortgaging those controverted Islands to the King of *Portugal*, for 350000 Ducats. This was concluded at *Zaragoza*, on the 22d of *August* 1529, as his Imperial Majesty was going over to be Crown'd in *Italy*. The Line of Division was again examin'd, and what Parts of the Earth it is to run through; the Times of Payment were fix'd, with other Conditions, and Salvos of the Right on both sides, that so neither Oblivion, nor the Kindred between the two Kings might confound it.

Spaniards against quitting the Moluccos.

By Relations Written in those Days it appears, that the Emperor consulting *Peter Ruyz de Villegas*, a grave and learned Gentleman, about this Mortgage; his Answer was condemning it, and declaring, That his Majesty had better to have Mortgaged any other of his Kingdoms, than that of the *Moluccos*, *Trapobana*, or *Malaca*, or any other in the East; all which, in his Opinion, belong'd to his Majesty; and he grounded his Opinion on Time's casting Treaties into Oblivion, and the great uncertainty of State Affairs. Many others advised the Emperor to repay that great Sum to the King of *Portugal*; and what is yet more, the Representatives in the *Cortes* of *Castile*, propos'd that the Emperor should make over to them the *Molucco* Islands for six Years, by way of Farm, and they would pay King *John* the Mortgage Money, and bring the Trade of Spice to *Coruna*, and after the six Years his Majesty should carry on that Trade. The Emperor hearing of this Innovation, order'd a stop to it, and that no further Progress should be made in fitting out the Fleet design'd for the *Moluccos*, under *Simon de Alcazova*, and forwarded by the Bishop of *Ciudad Rodrigo*.

War ceases between Spaniards and Portugueses.

Orders, and Letters Patents, were drawn and sealed, for both Nations to forbear Hostilities, but the Emperor's Subjects never receiv'd Commands from him to withdraw their Forces for any other Enterprize, nor did they know what had been agreed on in *Spain*, any other way than by the Account they had from the *Portugueses* who had receiv'd Orders from their King, to conclude a Peace, and to Ship off the *Spaniards* by the way of *India* for *Spain*. This Agreement put an End to all Judicial, and Military Contention. Since then the Vicissitude of Times has invested all the Right, and Title in our King. So that, according to grave Civilians, he might,

might, as they say, invert the Titles, or possess by them all, without confounding the Right; Heaven having design'd him to be Sovereign of such a vast Monarchy, and given him that Hereditary Zeal, which makes him offer his whole Power to oppose Hereticks and Sectaries, and to spread the Faith, and its perfect Politicks among such Multitudes of Souls as have received it, in so many barbarous Provinces. For this same Reason it will be superfluous to examine any further into the Limits assign'd by that Law, which could never be settled.

This Accommodation being concluded, the *Portuguese* Fleets, without any Opposition from those of *Castile*, peaceably possess'd themselves of the Islands of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Bachian*, and the others about them. From the first of these, as their Head in Spirituals, our Priests went Abroad to preach the Word of Truth, which was receiv'd by several Kings and Nations, leaving but inconsiderable Remains of Idolatry, and other Sects. Whole Cities, whose Sovereigns chose to continue in their Darkness, not regarding their Prince's Example, which uses to have the Force of a Law, threw down their Idols, and consecrated Profaneness, dedicating their Temples to the True God. The Kings of *Portugal* built Garrisons, and Factories for the Christians to inhabit; sending their Commanders and Officers, who curbed the Kings, and the *Sangiacks* their Subjects. Some Governours there were, who besides the Care they took of propagating the Gospel, and maintaining Peace in those Parts, endeavour'd by endearing Means to attract the Barbarians to love our Habits, to affect our Ways of Entertainment, and the *European* Affability and Conversation, and gently inclin'd them to our Customs and Manners, which in some Places made them look upon that as a Sort of Equality, when it was no better than Servitude. The powerful Union of Justice and Religion was however the most prevalent; but the Commanders and Governours being defective in the first of these Virtues, on which inward Felicity and Government depend; the Subjects lost the second, and return'd to their former Blindness, as appears by what has been already said, and more fully by what is to follow, since we are now come to the Election of *Sultan Aerio*, in whose Days *Ternate* was utterly lost, and could never be recovered either by Force or Art, till the Reign of our Sovereign Lord the King; a just Reward of his Piety and Zeal. The lawful Queen, by those People call'd *Putriz*, was as much concern'd for *Aerio's* Mother's Death, as for any of her own Sons. She was present at her Funeral, and lamenting immoderately, curs'd the Domination of the *Portugueses*, calling it Tyranny. All the Machinations of those who study'd Revenge were known to her, and she forwarded them with her Advice; for as they said, nothing now remain'd of the former Moderation of the Governours sent thither out of *Europe*, nor of that Regard and Respect they used to have for them.

The End of the First Book.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. II.

THE Alliance concluded betwixt the Kings of the *Archipelago*, and particularly *Vaygamano*, *Vaigeo*, *Quibibio*, and *Mincimbio*, reigning in the Islands *Papua*, was follow'd by such an Accident, that tho' the Minds of the Confederates had not been already so well dispos'd, nor the Blood of those Innocent Kings so newly spilt, it would have consummated the Hatred they had conceived against the *Portuguese* Nation. All the Ports of the *Molucco* Islands were so well secur'd, and the Passage for Provisions so wholly stopp'd up, that *Tristan de Atayde* despairing of Relief, sent Captain *Pinto* to *Mindanao*, and the Neighbouring Islands, to furnish such things as were absolutely necessary for the Support of Life, there being nothing to be had within his Liberties. *Pinto* sailing in a good Ship, arriv'd at *Mindanao*, visited the King, by whom he was well receiv'd; and he having seen his Credentials, and consulted the *Sangiacks* of his Council, establish'd Peace and Amity with him. He sold the Commodities he carry'd at his own Rates, and buying and bartering, loaded with Provisions to his own Content; thence he went over to the Island *Seriago*, where he was no less successful with the King. In this Island, that their Friendship might last for ever, they concluded the Peace with a barbarous Ceremony, which when practis'd in those Parts, they never break the Articles. The Parties being met, certain Officers appointed for that Purpose, draw a Quantity of Blood from their Arms, and each drinks the other's, as a Gage of Affection; believing they convey it into their Souls, by that horrid Draught. This Contract so ratify'd, produc'd such Confidence, that their Ships repair'd to our

Ports,

Pinto sent for Relief.

Barbarous Custome.

Ports, and ours to theirs, with all possible Security, without any Let or Prohibition. *Pinto* perceiving what a Multitude of the Natives resorted to his Ship, resolved to make a Prey of them; and the last Day, Forty of them coming Aboard to Trade, he perswaded them to go down into the Hold, on Pretence of showing them its Bulk and Conveniencies, and as soon as they were down, shut the Hatches upon them; this he practised several times, till at last, tho' he observ'd them close, one of them forcing his Way out, leap'd into the Sea, and swam ashore. He went directly to the King, whom he acquainted with the villanous Practice: The King justly enrag'd, to see Friendship so newly contracted, and confirm'd by the the most sacred of Tyes, in his Opinion, so perfidiously violated by the *Portugueses*, thinking Religion affronted, immediately order'd all the Ships that were afloat to be brought together, and such as were finish'd in the Docks, to be launch'd; all which being well equip'd, stor'd with Guns, and full of those furious Barbarians, encompass'd the *Portuguese* Ship, attacking her on all Sides. *Pinto* was beginning to weigh his Anchors, having seen the Ships in Motion, and the Men hastening Aboard; he defended himself with only 25 Soldiers, who had scarce time to handle their Arms; for the Natives of *Seriago* began already to Board, and those who were Prisoners under Deck had prevail'd, but that the Mariners loos'd their Sails. At this time there fell a dreadful Storm of Rain, with such amazing Thunder and Lightning, as if the Heavens had been rent asunder. The *Seriagos* quitted the *Portuguese* Ship, endeavouring to recover the Shore in their own Vessels, with their Sails rent, the Hulls shatter'd, and the Rigging disabled; and to get off the better, they threw over-board their Cannon and Arms, being in danger of sinking. This Tempest lasted two Days, during which Time, *Pinto's* Ship could not escape, his Men and he being so far spent, that they had neither Strength nor Courage to stand by their Tackle; they let the Ship drive with the Sea, and threw over-board their Provisions, Merchandize, Guns, Arms, Cloaths, and all they could come at; and being convinc'd of the Justice of the Judgment, for having broken their Faith, and solemn Engagement they had made, arriv'd at *Ternate* astonish'd, dumb, and out of Countenance, thinking they were still in the Storm. Such are the Effects of a guilty Conscience, which presently provokes God's Wrath.

All the Kings of the adjacent Islands were soon acquainted with the Perfidiousness of those few *Portugueses*, that they had transgress'd the sacred Laws of Hospitality, and always made a mischievous Use of Benefits; whereupon they immediately concluded their League, to be exercised like desperate Men. They presently made Proclamation, forbidding, under most severe Penalties, the conveying of any Provisions to the *Portugueses*, either by Sea or Land, that so they might be reduc'd to quit all those Provinces, and fly into *India*, and since they could not batter the Fort, for Want of great Guns, they should starve it out; enjoining all Persons of all Ages, and both Sexes, to be vigilant in observing this fatal Decree, that so the Trading Galeon might not afford them the Comfort of hoping for Relief. Then considering that the main Motive of their exercising such Tyranny, was the Spice of Cloves, wherewith *Ternate*, and all the *Molluccos* abound, the Natives resolv'd to set Fire to all the Trees, endeavouring

*Villany of
Pinto.*

*Leagues
against the
Portugue-
ses.*

that the Conflagration should be so Universal, as that the *Moluccos* might ever after remain barren. They well knew that this was contriving their own Ruin; but they look'd upon it as a pleasing and advantageous Destruction, so they might but be reveng'd of their Enemies.

Reflection. The Crop of Cloves makes the Wealth of the *Molucco* Kings, much more than the Taxes their Subjects pay; and tho' Rage, and Despair put Fire into their Hands, to burn their Country, it might happen, as sometimes Mistakes prove advantageous, that what they design'd to render their Fields Barren, might make them more Fruitful. It is well known that course Ashes mix'd, and scatter'd on the Face of the Earth often Fertilize it. Nothing is more frequent in *Europe* than to burn the Stubble, and Straw upon barren Lands; because, either the burnt Earth gathers some unknown Strength, and produces good Pasture, or else the Fire consumes its Rankness, and exhales the superfluous Moisture. Perhaps the intense Heat opens several Passages, and dilates the close Pores, and hidden Veins, thro' which the Nourishment flows, and thence the Earth receives it in all Parts, to make it capable of a new Product; or else it hardens, and closes the Vents which were open'd, that so the thin Waters, or the continual Intensity of the Sun, or the piercing Cold of the North-East Wind, which is chilling, may do it no Harm. Besides, Nature having chosen that only Part of the World to produce this sort of Fruit, in which there has never been observ'd any Failure, or Intermission, it could not be believing that a Momentary Violence should utterly cause it to cease. However the Design of those People was not to renew those Spicy Groves, but entirely to destroy them. This shows how mischievously they were bent against themselves, and against all Nations. It will be therefore convenient in this Place to treat of the Cloves at large.

Account of Cloves. The first that made any Account of it, were the *Chineses*, who attracted by the Scent, began to load their *Junks* with it for the Gulphs of *Persia* and *Arabia*. *Pliny* was acquainted with, and defines it, saying, It is a long Pepper; and calls it *Garyophillum*. The *Persians* gave it since the Name of *Calafur*, it does not belong to us to decide which of these Words was derived from the other. The *Spaniards* formerly call'd it *Girofe*, and afterwards *Clavos*, because they are like Nails, which bear the same Name. The Head of the Clove, having four small Teeth that cross it, resembles a Star. The Natives of the *Moluccos* call the Tree *Siger*, the Leaf *Varaqua*, and the Fruit *Chamque*. The Plant is not unlike our Bay-Tree, but bears a greater Head. When it begins to blossom, it spreads a most delicious Fragrancy, and on the very Top like the Myrtle, from one single Stock produces an infinite Number of Clusters, like those of *Elder*, or the *Honey-Suckle*. At first coming out they are White, as they grow up Green, and the third Season, when Ripe, makes them Red; this Variety of Colours, by inward Virtue, showing the several Terms that bring it to Perfection. Those that remain on the Clusters, which they call *Mother Cloves*, continue there a year, growing larger and stronger. They either thresh the Branches to gather them, or else shake them with Cords they have made fast above, drawing from below, after the Ground about is clean'd; but it is naturally clear from Weeds, for this Sovereign Tree suffers no sort of Herb to grow about it. It draws all the moisture so powerfully to it self, that all

Roots

Roots about are destroy'd, or starv'd. It bears at eight Years standing, and lasts an hundred. Some say it would hold longer, were it not strip'd with such Violence, which it avenges by growing Barren; but they are mistaken, for in the Islands of *Bachian*, they lop the Branches, that they may produce more Cloves, and the low Branches bear least. From these they gather the Cloves with their Hands, and they only bear when the *Monson* blows. They yield their Fruit from *September* to *February* every two Years. Others say once in three; because when they gather the Clove, besides that the Plant is much impair'd, they break off those Buds, which produce the Blossoms of the Cloves; but then they afford certain hopes of another Crop. The Truth of it is, that Nature allows them a Year's respite, during which they rest like the Olive-Trees in *Europe*. They are gathered when Ripe, and their Ripeness appears by being Red. Being spread in the Sun, in three Days they dry up, and contract a blackish Ash-colour. *Avicen*, by his leave, was deceiv'd, when he said that the Gum of the Clove Tree is answerable in its Virtue to Turpentine; for Experience has prov'd the contrary. Besides, that Trees excessive hot or cold, yeild no Gum, but only those which are temperate between both. Sea-Water. Beeds, and Fresh does them Harm. A certain Historian Writes, that they yield Fruit twice a Year; if by it he means the middle Crop, which is very small, we grant it; but if he speaks of the most Fruitful, as the Triennial, which with general Amazement produces enough to serve all Nations, the Belief of his Assertion will remain in the Author himself. These Plants make amends for their delay in the Abundance of their Product; which is such, that after enriching all Nations with it, the K. of *Spain's* Revenue out of it, Yearly amounts to two Millions of pieces of Eight, little over or under. It is generally reckon'd that only the five *Molucco* Islands produce all the Clove, because of the prodigious Quantity they yield. They always amount to Four Thousand Bars, each Bar of *Ternate* being four hundred Weight, and three quarters, and this for that Island; but the third of the whole taken for the King amounts to six thousand Bars, and every common Bar is better than five hundred Weight of ours. Perhaps the Word *Bar* might come from the *Greek Baros*, signifying a Load. The Cloves grow also in the small Islands of *Ires* and *Meytarana*, about *Ternate*; those of *Pulo* and *Cavali* near *Tydore*, and in *Gilolo*, *Sahugo* and *Gamoconora*, Towns of *Ratichina*; as also in the Islands of *Amboyna* and *Veranula*, more in this last than in all the others, but they are weak, and smaller. The Clove Trees grow up without any Help of Art, like all Trees coming from Rocks, and they made the only Woods in these Islands, which sucking in all the moisture Heaven affords, it is a wonder to see any other Plant near. When they have a mind to Transplant a Clove Tree, they set it where many Weeds grow, that it may thrive the sooner, by the help of the Moisture, and Virtue it sucks from them, and as the Tree thrives those Plants perish. For the same reason Cloves are ill Neighbours to full Vessels. The Ring Doves, whereof there are great numbers in *Gilolo*, eat many of those Cloves which grow Old upon the Tree, then flying they purge in the Air with the Motion, and from their Excrements dropping on the Ground Clove Trees grow up. Heaven has given them so plentifully only to these Islands, abstractly from all the World beside; being at first not valu'd, or known.

known by the Natives. This is what they would have destroy'd by Fire, that it might be totally annihilated; because the Flames gather more Strength among combustible Matter, than other Violences, to which sublunary things are subject.

Moluccos
describ'd.

Since we are now upon the Description of the *Moluccos*, and in regard that those delightful Provinces are so remote from us, we will go on with what is remarkable in them, to show the desperate Fury of those People, who had condemn'd them to the Flames. All the five *Molucco* Islands are almost round, and of the same Shape. The compass of the biggest is not seven Leagues. They have all Crags, of a wonderful Height, cover'd with an odoriferous Fragrancy of wild Cloves; and about them several Cities, Towns and Forts. Their exact Roundness is the Reason they have no good Harbours for both the *Monsons* of Norwest and South. Only *Ternate* forms the Port they call *Talangame*, and a League from it, that of *Toloco*, where Ships ride safe, and with their Boats close to the Shore: The Forts were not erected in either of them, because they should not be remote from the King's Court. Both these Ports look to the Eastward, and have ridges of Rocks that break off the Sea, and secure the Vessels. That of *Ternate*, opposite to the Fort admits of Caravels, at high Water and spring-Tides, which being unloaded ride where they will. This Ridge of Rocks is of a sort of Stone, that turns into Coral, which when old hardens, and shooting out many Branches, knits together, and turns again into Stone, whereof excellent Lime is made. It is so contriv'd that those who come to it by Sea, think they see noble Structures erected for the Defence of the Harbour. The Mountain, which rises in the midst of *Ternate*, two Leagues in Height, and cover'd with Palm, and other rare Trees, has on the Top of it a Mouth or Cave, that seems to reach down to the very Center. A Man can hardly be seen from the one side to the other. Within it is a Square Spot, like a Threshing-Floor, made of Stones and loose Earth. Some curious Persons have view'd it, and among them one *Gabriel Rebelo* Factor, and Alcaide of the Fort; who having sounded it, tying together several long Fishing-Lines, found it was 500 Fath. deep. At the Bottom gushes out a beautiful Spring, tho' no Man has dar'd to Taste of it, or try whether it is Sweet or Sower. The loose Floor shakes with the Fire in the Bowels of the Mountain; whereof the first Account was given by *Anthony Galvam*, who Observ'd it in the Year 1538, when he was Commander in Chief over these Islands. He went up to see that Wonder in Nature, at a safe Time, for he could not have done it in *April*, or *September*, when the Sun moves from one Hemisphere to the other, and crosses the Equinoctial, which cuts half a Degree of *Ternate*, because of the Winds then kindling the Flames. Had *Pliny*, when he went out of Curiosity to see the Burning of Mount *Vesuvius*, in *Italy*, taken another opportunity, he had not been Burnt to Death, as his Nephew writ to *Cornelius Tacitus*. It stinks, and casts out Smoke, Sulphur, and Red-Stones, as it were out of the Mouth of a Canon; shewing the Mountain to be hollow at the Foundation. It causes Earthquakes, and Noise; and the Flames, and burnt Stones, have reach'd to the City, and Fort, and even to the Islands of the *Maeos* and *Casures*, twenty Leagues from *Ternate*. The Smoke is of several Colours, because the Moisture and Corruption of the Earth exhales it thick, and diversity'd,
which

Burning
Mountain.

which is help'd by the ill Quality of the Air, and that, with the falling of the Excrements the Fire casts out upon the Springs, corrupts the Waters, and destroys Health. Going up this Mountain two thirds of the Height, it is all Green and Fruitful; but the Top is excessive Cold, without any sort of Fowl, or Birds, but abundance of Flyes. Thence is descry'd a spacious Sea, and an infinite Number of Islands; because the Purity of the Air, free from Exhalations, as is said of the Top of Mount *Olympus*, represents curious Objects to the Sight, and favours it without any Let, the greater part of the Year. Where the Thickness of the Trees Terminates, a Spring of fresh Water gushes out, so very cold that there is no Drinking of it, but by Sips. At the Top, some distance from the Mouth, which casts out the Flames, they at this time tore away a piece of the Mountain, whence for two Days abundance of Water flow'd; great pieces of Rocks roul'd down the side of the Hill, to the Sea; forming Concavities, and bearing down Trees, and Ruins. The same Mountain, on the Top, has a spacious sweet Pool, encompass'd with Trees, wherein there are blew, and gold-Colour Alligators, above a Fathom long, who, as soon as they hear People stirring, plunge down to the Bottom.

These Islands know no Difference of Summer and Winter; nor is there *Seasons*. any settled Rainy Season, but it generally Rains more with the North-East, than with the South Wind. The *Molucco* Islands breed Snakes above 30 *Snakes*. Foot long, and proportionably thick; but they are neither Quick of Motion, nor Venomous. Those who have seen them affirm, That when they want Sustenance, they chew a certain Herb Nature has shown them, and climbing the Trees by the Sea-side, cast into it what they have chew'd; many Fishes come to Eat it, and being made Drunk, lye helpless upon the Water; then the Snakes launch out upon them, and satisfy their Hunger, till they are full of those stupify'd Fishes. The Crocodils on the Land are *Crocodils*. the fiercest of Monsters; the Ancients write almost the contrary of those of the *Nile*. These in the Sea are so Timorous, that they suffer themselves to be bound under Water. A Crocodile has been taken that had four Eyes, and a very little Heart. Here are also found certain Insects, which they *Insects*. call *Cuzos*, living on Trees, on whose Fruit they feed: They are like Rabbits, their Hair thick, harsh, and curl'd, of a brightish Brown; their Eyes round and sprightly; their Feet small; and a very long Tail, by which they hang, the better to reach the Fruit; and they stink like Foxes.

In the Desert Parts there are Wild-Fowl; some of the Tame are the same we have in *Europe*. The Parots, in their Tongue call'd *Nores*, of several Colours intermixt, Cry excessively, but Talk well. An Islander affirms, That at this time, when the People were Conspiring, a Parrot in the Air cry'd, *I Dye, I Die*; and beating his Wings, fell down Dead. A Relation tells us of another, that came from *Amboyne*, on the Mast of a small Vessel, when they went to take him, he cry'd out, *Sebastian, Sebastian*, who was his Master, and came to his assistance. There are great flocks of *Birds and* black Geese, with Parrots Feet; Martins, Swallows, Feldefares, Thrushes, *Fishes*. and Sparrow-Hawks. The variety of Fish is infinite; the Sea-Cow, like that of *Brazil*; a sort of Crab, one part whereof Eaten, kills in 24 Hours; this is on the Sea-shore, under certain Trees, whose shade suffers no Grass or Herb to grow; those who Sleep in it Sicken, and it dries and parches up the.

the very Ground. There is another sort of Crabs, no unlike Lobsters, but with less Claws; they have strong white Teeth, with which they break the Shells, to eat the Almonds; they breed among Rocks, are taken at Night with Light; their Body, Claws, and all the Flesh, is like that of a Lobster. Near the Tail they have a Bag, full of a certain Substance delicious to the Taste, for which they are as much valu'd as Pullets.

Strange
Sticks.

Tree of
Butter-
Flies.

A good
Remark.

All over the *Moluccos* there grows a sort of reddish Sticks, which burn in the Fire, raise a Flame, and are like a burning Cole, without wasting: They look to be of a Stony Nature, moulder away betwixt the Fingers, and are easily broken by the Teeth. Not far from the Fort of *Ternate*, is to be seen the Plant call'd *Catopa*, from which there drop Leaves less than the common sort; the Stem whereof, on a sudden, is form'd into the Head of a Worm, or Butter-Fly; the Body and Fibers coming from it, make Feet, and the Leafy Part, Wings; so that it soon becomes a perfect Butter-Fly, and at the same time a Leaf. This Tree buds out every Year, like a Chestnut-Tree, and from the Buds proceed these Worms, which run upon Threads fastened to the Leaves. Nature was profuse with those People; especially as to the Cloves, which I distinguish from the Long-Pepper *Pliny* perhaps spoke of, when he nam'd the *Garyophillum*. But since the Profit of that so highly valu'd Product, was to occasion such bloody Wars, such incredible Voiages, from all Parts of the World, that the real Dangers, are even beyond human Belief; it may well be controverted, whether it were most for the publick Tranquility, that this Spice should be known, or ever conceal'd; for its Plenty and Virtue, which awaken'd the Avarice of the remotest Nations, has glutted those Seas with the Wracks of Ships, and Fleets, and call'd thither Armies of Rebels, making their passage through Streights before unknown, in the Sight of Mountains cover'd with blew Ice and Snow, as never reach'd by the Suns bright Beams; and yet they venture at all, not out of any Zeal of promoting Religion, or Civility, but only to load with that Spice, which has occasion'd Disobedience and Superstition. This is the precious Commodity, which gives Power and Wealth to those Kings, and causes their Wars. A Wonder of Nature, which plainly shows it has created nothing so harmless, but what is abus'd by human Malice. This is the true Fruit of Discord, rather than the fabulous Apple of the three Goddesses, since for it there has been, and still is, more Fighting, than for the Mines of Gold. Had this happen'd in the Days of the *Greek*, or *Latin* Poets, how much more would they have spoken of our *Moluccos*, than they did of the Islands *Gorgones* in the *Ethiopick* Ocean? Let us stop a little to reflect on the Dangers Mortals expose themselves to, rather, perhaps, to please their wanton Appetites, than to confirm their Health.

The Confe-
derates
meet.

The People of *Ternate*, *Tydore*, *Bachian*, and all the Neighbouring Princes, being impatient to put in Execution their desperate Design, chose the King of *Tydore* for their Head, to joyn with him of *Ternate*, that had been expell'd on account of the Death of *Gonzalo Peryra*. Among the Relations usually collected by the Christian Curiosity of the Religious Men of the Society, we find that these Kings met in the little Island, which divides *Ternate* from *Tydore*, before they went each of them to his proper Post for performing what was stipulated in the Confederacy, and there the King of *Tydore*,

Tydore, as Chief of the League, spoke to them in this Manner. *I cannot mention the Occasion of this our Union, without shedding Tears, for the Joy of the Success, which we look upon as present, produces the same Effects it would do, were we already Victorious. Our Forces are assembled to deliver us from the Spanish Yoke, punishing those Men with the Hazard of our Total Ruin, whom neither our Benefits could oblige, nor our Threats correct. They are the great Robbers of the World, who usurp it, by browding their Avarice under specious and godly Pretences. In vain have we endeavour'd to moderate their Pride by Means of our Modesty and Submission. If they meet with Wealthy Enemies, the Portugeses show themselves Covetous, if with Needy, they are Ambitious; this is the only Nation that equally seeks after others Wealth and Miseries. They rob, kill, and subdue, taking away our Dominions under false Titles, and think they have no settled Peace, till they have reduc'd the Provinces into Desarts. We possess the most fruitful Islands in Asia, only to purchase Servitude and base Subjection with their Product, converting this blessed Bounty of Heaven into Tribute paid to the Ambition of Intruding Tyrants. Experience has show'd us, how odious our Valour has been to the Christian Commanders, whom, for the same Reason, we must never hope to find more modest, or less our Enemies. Assure your selves then, and remember, both Kings and Subjects, both you who seek Glory, and you who provide for your Safety, that neither of these is to be had without Liberty, nor this without War; nor is the War to be maintain'd without Courage and Unanimity. The Power of the Portugeses is increased, and on it their Reputation depends. Having then discover'd the Mystery, and Cause of this Tyranny, who is there that will not prepare to try the utmost of Fortune, to purchase the greatest of human Felicities, which is Liberty. Other Nations, which when they hear of our Resolution, will call it Despair and Savageness; if they weigh it with the Occasion, will rather Commend than go about to find Excuses for us. Besides, every Man knows what is fit for his Religion, his Honour and his Country, better than those who judge of these Things at a Distance. In short, What is Life worth without Liberty?*

King of
Tydore's
Speech.

Those incensed Kings made suitable Returns to these Words, and having taken proper Measures to commence and carry on the War, went away in their Vessels, without losing Time, or admitting of Delay; as well knowing the many Dangers a great Undertaking is expos'd to, which depends on Secrecy, and is imparted to many.

On the Day appointed, all the Natives departed the City of Ternate, Ternate with their Families, not in good Order, as in Transmigrations, but raging, City abandon'd and burnt. in Confusion, and loaded with their Children, and a few Necessaries, having before sent away their Effects to other Islands. To convince the Portugeses of their Design, and that the People of Ternate abandon'd the Country, they set Fire to the City in several Places; the Flames began to take hold and spread, till they met, and of many small ones became one general Conflagration, with hideous Noise and Cries; for not only the Houses were burnt, which had for so many Ages belong'd to their Forefather, and Ancestors, but all that attracts the Affection to our Native Country, the Temples, all their worldly Treasure, and the Bounty of Nature; for the open Country began now to feel the Desolation, the Caves, Lakes,

Resoluti-
on of the
People.

Portugue-
ses slaugh-
ter'd.

King of
Tydore
poison'd.

Lakes and Springs, the Rocks, and the very Sea it self shin'd, boil'd up and crack'd, and the Fire receiv'd into the subterraneous Caverns, lying in the hollow Mountains, pierc'd into the deepest Recesses, roaring and overturning Stones and Trees. In the mean while, the People travell'd towards the Desarts, looking back to view the Effects of their Revenge. *Tristan de Atayde*, amaz'd to behold that dreadful Practice, having arm'd some Soldiers, sent Messages to the Queen and Governours, to propose some Accommodation, and appease that inhumane Rage. He promis'd to make Satisfaction, and that all Things should be set right, but it avail'd nothing; for they rather grew more furious, and would not hear'ten to any Proposal, or admit of Treaty, that might make them slacken in their Resolution. Being come to those Places which Nature has made strong among the Rocks, they arm'd, and in Parties fell upon the Christians, lying in wait for them when they went out for Wood or Water, and killing or wounding them by Surprise. The Edict was put in Execution throughout all the Islands at the same Time, destroying all the *Portugueses* that were in them. In the City *Momoya*, they kill'd eight that were with *P. Francis Alvarez*, but he fled to a Ship, after receiving several Wounds. In the Island of *Chion*, the Head of *Moratay*; they also slew the Priest, *Simon Vaz*; an Infidel rushing into his Chamber, broke in Pieces the Picture of the Blessed Virgin, he found there painted on a Board; but Heaven suffer'd him not to go unpunish'd, for his Hands drop'd off on the Spot, and he dy'd a few Days after. It was further observ'd, that within a Year there was not one left alive of all his Race, which was destroy'd in War, and by other Misfortunes and Calamities; as the last of them was fishing, a Needle Fish sprung out of the Water, and struck him with the Snout in the Eye, whereof he dyed. The whole Town perish'd miserably within a few Years. *Tristan de Atayde* soon receiv'd the News of this Slaughter of the *Portugueses*, and so successively of the others, throughout all the Islands. He encourag'd his Men, and labour'd to hide his Concern for being shut up among so many Enemies; he regulated the Distribution of Provisions; sent out several Spies, to get Information of the Enemies Motions and Designs; and order'd the Guard upon King *Aerio*, who was in the Fort, to be always watchful, for the more Security, leaving only the Nurses, and other Women that attended him. Then he again employ'd other Persons to propose a Peace to the Queen, and the King of *Tydore*, with ample Commission to offer advantageous Conditions, which were to be immediately perform'd; but all prov'd ineffectual, for an Accident which soon happen'd confirm'd the Enemies Obstinacy.

Catabruno, Governour of *Gilolo*, and Tutor to the Infant King, finding his Usurpation establish'd by Time, and a good Disposition in the Minds of his Accomplices, poison'd the King; and possessing himself of the Palace and Forts, ascended the Throne, making the Subjects swear Allegiance to him. Tho' no Man in all those Eastern Parts expected any other Event, yet was it look'd upon as most certain, that *Tristan de Atayde* was consenting to the Poisoning, and his Usurpation; besides other Circumstances produc'd to prove his Guilt, it was notorious, that *Atayde* sent *Catabruno* a Robe of blew Velvet, which he wore the Day he rebell'd, and was sworn King. God so order'd it, that as soon as he

was

was possess'd of the Kingdom, he broke his Faith with *Tristan de Atayde*, and confederated with the other United Princes, proving the greatest Enemy the *Portugueses* had; for he fitted out numerous Fleets wherewith he warr'd on all the Christians of those Islands, threatening and tormenting them that they might renounce their Faith.

At this time the Governour of *India*, tho' there were some Troubles at *Goa*, and in other Places, sent Succours to *Ternate*, because it was towards the End of Summer, and one must of Necessity go to succeed the Governour. *Antony Galvam* was the Man appointed, who laid out above 10000 Ducats of his own towards restoring the Places that had been burnt, by which it may be truly said, he redeem'd the *Moluccos*. He was desirous, not only to People, but even to enlarge *Ternate*, and to this Purpose he treated with some poor marry'd Men, and needy Families, to go over with him and their Wives and Children to those Islands; the same he did with Men and Women, who were lewd Livers, that they might mend their Lives in another Country, and embrace the legal State of Matrimony; to which End, he lent them Money, and provided Necessaries for their Voyage. In the mean while, the Tyrant *Catabruno*, assembled his Forces, and mov'd against the City *Momoya*, where the *Sangiack* of it liv'd, who had been before an ignorant Idolater, but then a Christian Prince. He finding himself inferiour in Power, retired into a Fort, with his Wife, Children and Family. Some *Portugueses* sent him by *Tristan de Atayde*, not daring to trust themselves shut up there with him, withdrew into the Mountains, where they were soon kill'd, pursuant to the Edict of the League. *Catabruno* enter'd the City, without any Opposition, where he exercis'd his Cruelty, because the wretched Inhabitants would not quit it; and many new converted Christians recanted for Fear, or thro' the Violence of Torments. Being Master of the City, he laid Siege to the Fort, giving it several furious Assaults, which *Don John* withstood, making a resolute Defence, and in some Sallies return'd Victorious; yet his Example prevail'd not on his People, as it usually does where it meets with generous Souls; so that this Prince soon discover'd how faint-hearted most of them were; he suspected that servile Fear would degenerate to such Baseness, that they would deliver him up to his Enemy, and therefore like a brave Man, he presently bent his Thoughts to secure the Salvation of his Soul. He knew *Catabruno* valu'd himself upon his Zeal for the Law of *Mahomet*, and therefore spar'd the Lives of all Christians that Apostatiz'd, putting to Death such as prov'd staunch and constant; he fear'd his Wife and Children, being pusillanimous, would fail in the Confession of their Faith, and being fill'd with this Spirit, drew his Cimiter, ran to them, and shedding Tears, which were not the Effect of Cowardice, slew them one after another, first telling them his Reasons for so doing, and that tho' in the Eyes of the World he might appear inhumane, yet considering the Salvation of their Souls, what he did was a Religious Magnanimity, and therefore they ought rather to thank him for it. This was a mistaken Notion; and to go through slich with it, he would, still persisting in the same Error, have kill'd himself, but that he was hinder'd by his own Servants, who to purchase the Tyrant's Pardon, deliver'd up to him that Christian Prince, who had been so ill advis'd by his Zeal. Being brought

Galvam
sent to govern the
Moluccos.

Momoya
taken.

Amazing
Action of
an Indian
Convert.

His Words. before *Catabruno*, who was inform'd how cruelly he had slain his Wife and Children, he ask'd him, Why he had undertaken so barbarous and inhumane an Action? *Don John* answer'd him with great Courage and Undauntedness. *At that Time, and in my Thoughts, I had more regard to the Salvation of their Souls, than to the preserving of their Lives. I mistrusted the Sex, their Age, and your Torments, and would not hazard their persisting in the true Faith. Souls are Immortal, and I took nothing from my Children that they can feel the want of, or which Time, or your Sword would not have depriv'd them of; the latter we should all have been thankful to, as the Instrument of the Divine Will. But I much more dreaded your Pardon and Mercy, by which you might have perverted their Minds, with those Soothings which please frail Mortality. I being more resolute, tho' expos'd to all your Fury, am so far from fearing the Effects, either of your Torments or Intreaties, that I shall look upon you as God's Executioner, and were it his Will, that you should take away my Life, I should receive a greater Benefit from your Sword, than from your Mercy. Catabruno, enraged at his Answer, order'd him to be kill'd; but the Tyrant's own Friends, who lov'd Don John, the Sangiack, carry'd him out of the Room, and contriv'd he should have his Liberty, and be restor'd. Their Intreaties prevail'd on Catabruno, and he liv'd many Years after in his own Dominions, with a Christian Constancy, confessing his indiscreet Zeal, which had caused his own Sword to deprive him of Wife and Children. A Mind truly worthy the best Part of Europe, and not to be the Product of the most remote barbarous Nations; and highly commendable, had it been directed by more solid Rules, to curb that Fierceness, so opposite to all natural and divine Laws, which looks upon such horrid Murders, as a Piece of Piety.*

Several Actions.

Tristan de Atayde was troubl'd at these Misfortunes, which were almost under his Eyes; tho' he wanted not for others nearer, for the People of *Ternate* being now Masters of the Island, burnt all the new and old Towns, belonging either to themselves, or the Christians, and amongst others, those of *Trutupalate*, *Calamata*, and *Ifico*, yet they met with brave Opposition in them all, and they cost much Blood. Twice our Men went out to Fight the *Tydore* Fleet, which came within sight of the Fort, and tho' they both times retir'd Shatter'd, and well Beaten, the Barbarians had not much cause to Boast of their Victory, for Abundance of them were kill'd, and scarce any went off unhurt. The Confederates fitted out other numerous Fleets, wherewith they much Streightened the Christians in the Fort, till *Antony Galvam* arriv'd, who was at this time Sailing. But Relief came before, *Don Stephen de Gama*, sending a Galeon laden with Provisions and Ammunition to *Ternate*, under the Command of *Simon Sodre*. The Galeon arriv'd safe, and with it the Support of those Disconsolate People. They took Heart, and ventur'd to go abroad, spreading themselves about the Island, and going into the Woods, met with ruin'd Buildings, the remains whereof still smoked, and when it was Dark, they observ'd the high Flames on the Mountains. However they made Incurfions upon the Barbarians, and throughout all the Islands there were hourly Engagements, either with the Christian Inhabitants, or the Soldiers of the Forts; and at Sea they heard the Martial Musick, which Sounded whilst they Sail'd, or Fought Manfully, and at that time was dreadful.

In

In the mean while Captain *Alvarado*, a *Spanish* Gentleman, sent by *Ferdinand Cortes* to *Ternate*, that the Valour he had shown in those Parts, serving God and his King, might not lie idle, discover'd the Islands of the *Papuas*, and fought those Barbarians with Resolution, tho' the *Portuguese* Histories assign the Honour of this Discovery to *Don George de Meneses* who arriv'd at them in the Year 1526, as we have seen. The great Commander *Alvarado* also Discover'd other Islands, call'd *Gelles*, in one Degree of North Latitude, and East from *Ternate*, 125 Leagues from *Batobina*. The Natives of those Islands are like those of the *Moluccos* in Colour, Habit, and Customs, differing only in Language, which is peculiar to themselves.

Spaniards
at the Pa-
puas.

Antony Galvam sail'd from *Malaca* with the proper *Monson*, with the Men, and all Necessaries to fight, and settle Colonies. When he was past the Island *Borneo*, and the ridges of Rocks which lie under Water, in sight of that Coast, as *F. Marta*, the Jesuit, writes to the Governor *Gomez Perez*, and appears by his Papers, in Sight of *Malaca* he Discover'd a great Fleet of *Carcoas*, and other *Chinese* Ships, with Sails made of Canes, and Palm-Tree Leaves wove together. He was soon satisfy'd, that they were the Auxiliaries which had joyn'd the *Janguas* of *Tydore* and *Catabruno*, who, with the expell'd King of *Ternate*, were Cruizing to meet the *Portuguese*, or *Spaniards*, that should come into their Seas. *Galvam* order'd his Men to be in a Readiness, to clear his Guns, and prepare all Things, doing the Duty of a Commander, and of a Soldier. The Enemy drew up in three Lines, each of its particular Nation, as if the *Portuguese* had many Ships. He was himself in the Trading Galeon, and with it a *Pink*, and another small Vessel, wherein, among the Marry'd Men, and Families unfit for that Service, there were some few that could take up Arms. The Infidels drew near, but without Artillery, the *Gilolo* Archers let fly a great number of Arrows upon our Men, and then one Line shearing off, the other discharg'd, the Air resounding, being peirc'd by the Darts, and *Calabays*, or Staves hardned at the Fire. *Galvam* not regarding the Danger, tho' at first he defended himself with Fights and Planks; when he thought they had spent most of those flying-Weapons, among which they fir'd some Muskets, he began to play his great Guns, tearing their Vessels, and destroying the Men. He Sunk a considerable number, and Took several, because they fought disorderly, relying, as it were a Land-fight, on the Multitude of their Soldiers, as ours did on their Valour, and Experience. But *Galvam*, whose Business it was to get to *Ternate*, held on his Voyage, and arriv'd there as he desir'd. His Men landed in that dismal Solitude, among Smoke and Ruins. The Joy of those who were in the Fort, and the extraordinary Relief, coming quite unhop'd for, were an Encouragement to them all. The Clergy came out to receive him, the Soldiers shouting amidst the Divine Hymns, confounding the Procession, and their Satisfaction. It was a Pleasure to behold, and they gazed on him as a Deliverer sent from Heaven. *Tristan de Atayde* resign'd his Post, and *Antony Galvam* took Possession, enquir'd into the Nature of the Confederacy, and the Fame of his Arrival being spread Abroad, Things began to mend. To this Purpose he arrested *Tristan de Atayde*, and afterwards sent him to Goa. He had before sent Messengers to the Queen, to acquaint her with his Ar-
rival,

Galvam
Fights at
Sea.

Arrives at
Ternate.

rival, and the End of it, which was to serve her, and retrieve all the Mischiefs an inordinate Desire of Revenge had occasion'd. In the mean while he began to repair the City, the Colonies, Churches, Keys, and Houses, distributing those Families he had brought with him. Nor did he neglect Husbandry, but planted Vines brought from *Portugal*, which he soon saw grown up into substantial Vinyards. He deliver'd to the Clergy the new Constitutions drawn up by Cardinal *Henry*, afterwards the last K. of the House of *Portugal*. He offer'd Peace to all that would comply, sent Religious Men to inculcate to those who liv'd like Outlaws, the Love of their Country, its re-establishment, and how dishonourable it was to them to make choice of a Life like that of wild Beasts, only for a cruel Satisfaction.

Strength
of the Na-
tives.

The Queen, who not to speak of her natural Fierceness, expected to see her Son restor'd, and set at Liberty, and to drive away the *Portugueses*, would not give Ear to any Accommodation. The greatest Burden of the War lay then upon *Tydore*, where the Confederate Kings, with the deposed *Dayalo*, a most Fierce Man, gather'd above fifty Thousand Fighting Men; but they had not yet enclosed that City with a Wall and Ditch, being satisfy'd with having built a Fort upon high Rocks, whence they spread abroad to pick up the Fishermen, and other *Portugueses* that went out from *Ternate* to get Provisions, and thence they infested that dangerous Coast. *Galvam* fearing lest the Prolonging of the War should reduce him to the former difficulties, sent other Messengers to treat of Peace, and perswade those obstinate Kings, to Publish an Oblivion of all past Wrongs, without taking Notice of the late engagement, offering them mighty Presents, to purchase Commerce at the Price of them. They being puffed up with some good Success, and their mighty Power; would not hearken to any Proposals Peace; but on the contrary, as *Masseus* Writes, they return'd an Answer very abusive to the *Portugueses*. *Galvam* imploring the Assistance of Heaven, so managed the Affair, that it was look'd upon as amazing, even by such as view Things impartially. Nor would it be credible, unless confirm'd by other Enterprizes of his suitable to this. He had only four Tall Ships, and a few smaller Vessels in the Port; these he speedily form'd into a Squadron, putting in 400 Men, 170 of them *Portugueses*, the rest to make up the Number, Slaves, and the common sort of *Ternate*. He left *Tristan de Atayde* with some Men to defend the Fort, and secure *Sultan Aerio*, and sail'd away himself for *Tydore*, without meeting any Enemy, the reason of it not known, and lay by in a safe Place, about a Musket-shot from that Island. Being come to an Anchor, he took a full View of the Multitude that guarded the Shores, considering the Nature of the Country, and Situation of the City. Having called a Council of War, he resolv'd to Storm the Fort on the high Rock, then little regarded, the Confederates thinking themselves safe. He made a Speech to them in plain Terms, without any Rhetorical Ornaments. *These are the same People*, said he, *we have so newly Vanquish'd, to restore whom to the Liberty they desire, would be a matter of small moment, did they when possessed of it allow the Freedom of preaching the Gospel. This is the Cause we are embark'd in. Who then can doubt of Victory, or not wish to Die for the obtaining of it? As these Enemies are the same we Defeated, so are we the same Victors; so that I need not have Recourse to Foreign Examples, to encourage you. Their Disobedience and Restlessness is of a long standing; it will be but reasonable that our Arms*

Galvam
sails over
to Attack
them.

add one Victorious Day to so many Turbulent Years, that so we may lay the Ax to the Root of Rebellion. They call us Tyrants; that does not at all trouble me; because after the Victory, we shall have the Opportunity of dispelling that Slander by our Moderation.

They would not suffer *Galvam* to put an end to his Speech, all of them pressing earnestly to Fight, and he resolving to make himself Master of the Rock, as he had contriv'd, pick'd out 120 *Portugueses*, and made out 300 from among the Rest, leaving the Remainder to secure the Ships, and keep the Enemy in Play, if they should attack them; making show of a greater Number, by appearing in several Places, and shouting, by which such as fear are easily imposed upon. In the mean while, *Galvam* having taken a Native of *Tydore*, and oblig'd him to serve for a Guide, set out at the fourth Watch in the Night with his Men, through by-ways remote from the City, over-grown with Brambles, and scarce practicable, and with the greatest silence he could came to the Top of the Mountain. The *Portugueses* had march'd the greatest Part of the Way by the first Dawn of Day, and resting them a little from the Fatigue, descry'd the Enemy's shining Helmets and their Feathers on them. *Galvam* then beginning, all the rest raised the Cry, *To Arms, to Arms*. The Confederates, with Horrid Shouts, which resounded on the Rocks, and in the Woods, made ready for their Defence, notwithstanding the surprize; but soon perceived they should fall a Prey to our Men. The Fight began, and King *Dayalo*, enrag'd for that he had been depos'd, appear'd the foremost with some Troops, to secure the Passes, and advanced to meet the *Portugueses* in a Plain. They avoided him not, and both Parties mixing, much Blood was spilt. *Dayalo* was visible by his bright Helmet, adorn'd with Variety of standing high Feathers, and his Body cover'd with a Steel Coat of Mail, brandishing with both Hands a Lance, as like a small Yard of a Ship, and charging with desperate Fury; but happ'ning to rush in among our Pikes and Musketiers, unadvisedly, he receiv'd several Wounds on all Sides, and fell down raging. He was wonderful strong, and started up immediately; concealing his Wounds and Pain, and beginning a fresh Charge in the first Ranks, for fear of discouraging his Men. He Fought a considerable Time; but not being Dress'd, and the Action causing the Blood to run the faster, his Eye sight fail'd him, and he dropt a second Time, saying to his Guards, *Move hence as fast as you can, and carry me carefully that the Dogs, so he call'd the Portugueses, may not have the Satisfaction of cutting my Body in Pieces*. His Soldiers did so, not without great Danger; and he soon after he had been carry'd off, gave up his haughty Soul. His Forces daunted by this Accident, turn'd their Backs, hiding themselves among the Rocks and Brambles, throwing down their Arms, and getting off through almost inaccessible Ways. Others return'd to the City, and meeting some Troops that march'd to their Assistance, made them return another Way. The *Portugueses* follow'd the Chace, killing such as fled, and *Galvam* came to the Fort, with the Loss of only one Slave. This Victory, which happen'd on the Feast of St. Thomas, the Apostle, in the Year 1537, humbled the Pride of the Confederates; was ascrib'd to the Intercession of that Apostle, and they observ'd a solemn Thanksgiving. The Fort was fired with good Advice, for the Citizens and Traders, seeing the Flames so near, abandon'd their

The manner of the Attack.

King of Ternate Kill'd.

The Indians routed.

Tydore
burnt.

their Houses, and departed the City with the flying Multitude. *Galvam* was now coming down from the Hill, having drawn together his Men, and form'd them into small Bodies, with sound of Trumpets and Singing, to make his Victorious Entry into that City, now void of Defendants, and full of Wealth. Considering that the Avarice of the Victorious Soldiers spur'd them on to take Possession of that inestimable Booty, for all the Merchants had brought their Effects to *Tydore*, as the safest Place. *Galvam* order'd to set Fire to the Houses, all which were consum'd with their harmless Treasure, in Sight of those who had hop'd to be Masters of it; only the Provisions being providentially sav'd.

Peace con-
cluded.

Of the People of *Tydore* as many were taken as did not in Time save themselves by Flight; as also a Junk in the Port, and several other small Vessels. The Enemies afterwards perish'd in other smaller Actions. The daunted King, hasted Home to secure their own Lands, dissolving the Confederacy, and being sufficiently warn'd, gave Ear to, and embrac'd Proposals of Peace; taking leave of him of *Tydore*, and agreeing with *Galvam*, whose Vertue and Discretion gain'd so much upon *Cachil Rade*, that King's Brother, that he came to a Conference with him and concluded a Peace upon certain Conditions. The King of *Tydore* oblig'd himself to restore *Galvam* the Cannon; not to assist the Enemies of *Portugal*; not to permit the Clove to be dispos'd of into any other Hands than the *Portuguese* Officers; and to sell it as was usual at *Ternate*. *Galvam* went over next to subdue *Gilolo*, and the other Kings, all which he compass'd successfully. The Queen also submitted, either on Account of the King of *Tydore*'s Falshood, or that, as she said, she grew weary of the War, or else because the depos'd King was kill'd. *Catabruno* was appeas'd by *Galvam*'s good Behaviour, and accepted of Conditions, among which the chiefest was, that *Galvam* should set *Sultan Aerio* at Liberty. Thus the Confederacy was dissolv'd, and the *Maluccos* laying down Arms, submitted again. Provisions were furnish'd as before, and the Crops, and Trade of Spice were restor'd.

Sultan
Aerio
King of
Ternate.

Sultan Aerio attended by the Christians and Gentiles, Dancing, and making other demonstrations of Joy, went from the Fort to his Palace, where he remain'd with his Guard, and Family. Before he Marry'd, tho' he never wanted for Concubines, he in Person took a Progress to the principal places in his Dominions of *Ternate*, *Moutil*, and *Machian*. Those in the Fort attended and assisted him, together with the *Sangiacks*, who went all about that *Archipelago*, first on that side they call *Del Moro*, that is towards *Batochina*, and is distant from the *Moluccos* 60 Leagues Northward, beginning at the Isles of *Doe*, two Leagues to the Point of *Bicoe*. All these are Inhabited by Wild People.

Batochina,
that is Gi-
lolo de-
scrib'd.

Batochina is 250 Leagues in Compass, and Subject to two Kings, which are those of *Gylolo*, and *Lolada*. This last is Ancienter than all those of the *Moluccos*, or in those Seas, and formerly was the most Powerful; but now the Weakest. The Inhabitants of the North part of *Batochina* are Savage, without any King, Laws, or Towns, living in Deserts. Those on the East-side have populous Towns, on the Sea Shore; and tho' they speak several Languages, yet they understand one another. This Coast they call'd *Morotin*, that is, *Land Moor*. The other Islands opposite are call'd *Morotay*, that

that is, *Sea-Moor*, and all those Isles breed deceitful, brutal and dastardly Men. Only the City *Moncoya* is Warlike. It ever wanted Laws, Weights, Measures, Coin, Gold, Silver, and all other Metals, and a King; but it is overstock'd with Provisions, Arms, Idols, and Devils speaking in them. The Women Till the Land. Each of these Towns is Govern'd by a Magistrate chosen by the People: they pay him no Taxes, but have Regard to his Descent. The *Molucco* Kings conquer'd them, and every one kept what he could get; the better part belongs to him of *Ternate*, and less to the King of *Tydore*, whose Dominions were enlarg'd by the Power of Spain. They went on to establish their Possessions among the *Papuas*, or *Papous*, East from the *Moluccos*, being Islands little resorted to, because many of them are all encompass'd with Flats and Shoals. The Natives of them are Black, like the *Cafres*; they wear their Hair wound about in large curl'd Locks, their Visages lean and ugly. The Name of *Papuas* in their Language signifies Blacks, being a Stern People, enur'd to Labour, and fit for any piece of Treachery. All their Islands are subject to Kings, and abound in Gold, which they do not Transport, because no Man lays up any more of it than is us'd in their Ornaments. Among these Black-men there are some as White and fair as the *Germans*; if these go out in the Sun, they are struck blind, tho they do not look at it. Those in *Spain* are call'd *Albinos*; yet some of them are strong, and can behold any Object. Among these *Papuas* there are many deaf. As to the Extent of this Country, if we may believe the Accounts of *Spanish* Pilots, who have sail'd that way, these Islands run along a vast Continent, which terminates at the Streights of *Magellan*. These Kings entertain Friendship with *Ternate*, whither they sent Embassadors, and as much as was here subject to the *Moluccos*, had no Share in the desperate Fury of the League. So did those of *Celebes* to the Westward, being many notable Islands, the great Island *Celebes* it self, as also *Mindanao*; so those of *Bisaya*, abounding in Iron; *Mascaga*, and *Masbate*, which have much Gold, as well as *Mindanao*; that of *Solobo*, and others producing Provisions, Spice, Sanders, Eaglewood, Cinnamon, Camphire, Tortosshell, Ginger, and Long Pepper. Some of these Islands are subject to the King of *Borneo*, others to those of *Tydore* and *Bachian*, but the most to him of *Ternate*. The People are generally treacherous; many of them go naked, painting their Bodies in Falcage, and other Figures; their Hair long, hanging on their Backs, or else knotted, and cut short over the Forehead, like our Peasants; their Faces large; their Teeth well shap'd and black; and their Ears bor'd. The Natives of *Celebes* are filthy, and vile in their Behaviour; the *Aequinoctial* passes over their Island, which is full of little Towns; a whole Race living in every House. On their Walls they hang the Hair of those they have kill'd in War; and the greatest number of them is most Honourable. There are among them several sorts of Monstrous Productions. One of these is a Tree bearing a vast Head, the shade whereof kills any Man that lyes down under it on the West-side, unless he immediately lye down on the East-side; the same shade at only a Yard distance being an Antidote against its opposite Malignity. In these Towns there are horrid Stews of Sodomy; tho there are no such at *Ternate*; but they have gone as far as *Amboyna*, which lyes South of it. Among the *Moluccos* there are many Islands sub-

*Papuas, or
Papous.*

*Other
Islands.*

Celebes.

ject to their own Chiefs, full of excellent Waters, and delightful Banks. Formerly they were free, afterwards conquer'd by the Kings of *Ternate* and *Tydore*; against whom they also rebell'd, and submitted to the Queen of *Japara*, and many Christian Towns were subject to the *Portugueses*. They yield above 2000 Hundred Weight of Cloves Yearly; which the *Jaos* are Masters of, none being to obstruct them; they go over and Barter, and carry it away in their Junks. We speak elsewhere of their Fertility. Our Relations tell us, they produce a sort of Reeds, or Canes, above fifty fathom long, and no thicker than a mans little finger. South from *Ambeyna* lye the Islands of *Banda*; and about 300 Leagues to the Eastward; some affirm, there is one which is all over an entire Mine of Gold, and the Natives not above a Yard high. If this be so, and these the true Pigmies, who will look upon the Battels mention'd in *Homer's 3d Iliad*, betwixt them and the Cranes, as Fabulous. Those scatter'd Dominions were again united and submitted to *Sultan Aerio*, whose Marriage Solemnities, Building of Malques, Publick Festivals, and other Works of Peace, we must pass over in silence, as not proper for our purpose, they being only a pleasing sort of Digressions.

Mezquita
Governs
at Ter-
nate.

Pretences
to destroy
King Ae-
rio.

The Kings of *Portugal* sent several Commanders in Chief to *Ternate*, and last in the Year 1570, *James Lopez de Mezquita*, who had command'd on the *Molucco* Seas, took Possession of the Fort. In his Time *Sultan Aerio*, a courteous and affable Man, continu'd in Subjection to *Portugal*, valuing himself upon being true to his Word in all his Actions. Nevertheless, there wanted not some ill-meaning Persons, who mislik'd his Government, and pretended that he did not exercise his Power legally. They said, he had given way to those Vices, into which luxurious Princes are wont to fall; those being generally the Fruits of a long Peace. They fancy'd, he retain'd the Memory of past Tragedies; and particularly his Mother's inhuman End, and therefore persecuted our Religion; tho at the same Time the Memories of those Days do not charge him with any Temporal Disobedience, or want of Fidelity; but they rather compar'd him to *Massinissa*, King of *Numidia*; and say the *Portugueses* ought to have respected him, as the *Romans* did the other. The Commander hearing of those Abuses, and fearing greater might ensue, some Religious Men encreasing his Jealousie, he endeavour'd to redress them by Friendly Admonitions, and other Contrivances. Those Methods had no effect on him, for he answer'd, he was in his own Dominions, where, without offence to the *Portuguese* Sovereignty, he might live as he pleas'd. *Mezquita* resolving to try harsher means, since the others did not at all move the King, nor make him uneasie, as relying on his Innocency; began to deprive him of his Revenue, and the Income of the Spice; threatening also, that he would, in all other Respects, execute the last Will made by his Brother *Tabarija*, wherein he appointed the King of *Portugal* for his Heir; or at least would treat him so like an inferior Person, that he should scarce be able to assume the Name of King; for such is the Punishment they are lyable to, who do not observe that Decorum which was inviolable in their Ancestors.

Cachil Babu, Son to *Sultan Aerio*, taking a Progress about this Time, through his Father's Islands, a Subject came to complain to him against certain *Portugueses*, who had taken away his Daughter; for which fault he

he order'd them all to be kill'd, as if they had been accessary to the ravishing of the Maid. He had no Directions, nor so much as the consent of King *Aerio* for this exorbitant Command, which took no effect. On the contrary he afterwards so generously resented it, that he order'd the Prince to be seiz'd, and would have punish'd him severely, had he not been hinder'd by those the wrong was offer'd to. This plain Demonstration was not sufficient to divert the *Portuguese* Commander from imputing the Sons Fault to the Father, contrary to all Reason and Likelihood. All discreet Methods us'd by well-meaning Persons to reconcile them two, failing; *James Lopez* by his King's Authority, which generally is most unreasonable, the farther it is from the Prince, from whom it is deriv'd, presum'd to imprison the *Sultan*; being dragg'd away from a Pleasure-House, where he was passing the Heat of the Day, among his Women. His Subjects lov'd him, and their Resentment for this wrong was proportionable to their Affection; nor did the *Portugueses* approve of the Fact. The Commander perceiving that all Men were against him, and that after all Enquiries and Examinations, the King's Cause still appear'd the better, and his Fidelity was more visibly made out, he gave him his Liberty, to the great Satisfaction of his Kingdoms, which were attentive to the Event; but upon Condition he should go to *Goa* to clear himself, where he expected they would cut off his Head, upon the Informations he would send against him. The King set out, and before he came to *Malaga*, the Vice-roy writ to him, begging he would return to his Kingdom, for he was fully convinc'd of his Innocence, and promis'd to punish the Causer of those Troubles; but at that Time, for some Considerations, was satisfy'd with reproving him. The K. returning to *Ternate*, the Commander was sent Prisoner to *Goa*, and had been more severely punish'd; but that Fortune preserv'd him, to be an Instrument of the loss which has lasted till our Days.

The Portuguese seize and send him to Goa.

The Vice-roy acquits him.

Within a Year after his Imprisonment he was restor'd to his Command in *Ternate*, where he again practic'd against that King; for there are some Dispositions which never part with the Jealousies they have once conceiv'd. *Ternate* was as it were the Metropolis in Religious matters, and King *Aerio* had never offer'd any Affront to us either in Spirituals or Temporals, for which Reason there never wanted some grave Persons in his Court. These Zealously reconcil'd them two, and that perfectly, as to outward Appearance, and that their renew'd Amity might be lasting, the King assur'd the Commander upon Oath, according to his Sect, that he would never privately harbour the least Jealousie of him; but before he admitted of any, would discover it to him, that so he might either receive, or make Satisfaction; to the end no Accidents might revive any Mistrusts. The Commander made the King the same solemn Promise, both of them being thus pacify'd, and in the Opinion of all those who mediated betwixt them, so Friendly, that none could imagine such perfect Amity could ever be dissolv'd. But there being nothing less permanent among Men than Reconciliations, the *Portuguese* Commander reassuming the Hatred which never was extinct, or perhaps so much as lay'd aside, resolv'd to destroy *Sultan Aerio*, when only five Days were elaps'd since the Re-establishment of their Friendship sworn to on both sides. This could not be kept so private, as not to come to the *Sultan's* Ears; but the Consideration that he was a King,

Pretended Reconciliation.

Falshood of Mezquita.

his own Sincerity, and the fresh Reconciliation, made him think he was secure. But if the Nature of Man be such as not to forgive when it has done a Wrong, what can be less secure than injur'd Innocence? The Commander feigns himself Sick, and sends to desire the King, that since he is not able to wait on him in his Palace, he will be pleas'd to honour him with a Visit in the Fort, there to confer with his Highness about some important Affairs which concern the King of *Portugal*, his Master, and are not fit to be communicated to any other. All the Answer the King return'd, was to go himself to Visit the Sick Man, tho' he had Information better ground-ded than on bear Surmises, that *Martin Antonio Pimentel*, the Commanders Nephew, had Orders to murder him, as soon as ever he came into the Fort. He could not prevail upon himself to believe a Treacherous Design; so far does Innocence prevail over a generous Soul. But when he saw that at the Gate, they stopp'd his Guards, the *Sangiacks* and *Cachiles*, that attended him, he then began to be convinc'd of the Villany, yet went on without being disorder'd, and showing an undaunted Countenance. And tho' he could not forbear dropping some Tears, when he took leave of his Sons, however he presently compos'd his Countenance, so that he was not at all dismay'd, tho' in the Commanders Nephew's Looks he saw visible Tokens of his Unkles Commission. He would have complain'd to the Commander of the Disrespect of those who stopp'd his Attendance, but they would not suffer him to go on. The Mask being now laid aside, and the true Design appearing, in Violence he call'd out to the *Sangiacks*, but the Gate was shut against him and them. *Pimentel* came up to him with a Naked Ponyard, and begg'd his Pardon like an Executioner. The King, without showing any Surprise, or Disorder, Bid him consider what he was going to do; for there were many left to revenge his Death, besides his Sons and Subjects, all the Kings of the *Archipelago*, as well the Sovereigns who were in Alliance, as those who ow'd Fealty to the Crown of *Portugal*. *This Instance*, said he, *will make them dread every Capricious Humour of a Commander in chief. If still that Jealousie survives, which has so often been prov'd groundless, I will deliver my self up to the King of Portugal; and if my Death be of such Consequence to you, yet respite the Execution but a little, for at my Age, Time will soon perform what your Swords are to do.* They now began to fall upon him, and he seeing a Brass Cannon, on which were the Arms of *Portugal*, clasping his Arms about it, said, *Christians, at least show some Respect to these Arms; for you kill a King that has paid the greatest Deference to your Crown.* This last Testimony of his Innocence was of no Force to appease those Murderers; though formerly in *Rome*, the embracing the Statues of the Emperors was sufficient to deliver Slaves from being punish'd by their Masters. It may be a Question whether his Soul was sav'd; for there are those who affirm, he intreated the Murderer to permit him to be Baptiz'd; who answering, It was then too late, without granting his Request, or any Respite, ran furiously upon that Antient Prince, who made no Resistance, and stabb'd him in several Places. They carry'd the Body into a Vault. The King's Kindred and Servants heard the Noise, and suspecting the worst; went away in great Disorder, to the City, where there was already a confused Rumour of what had happen'd, and being Distracted, ran shrieking about the Streets, where nothing was

Aerio's
Innocent
Bravery.

He is murder'd.

to be heard but Weeping, Threats, Complaints and Disorder.

The Principal Queen, with the Kings other Wives, and Slaves, his Sons, and Prothers, laying a side all State' came out of the Palace, already surrounded by the Multitude, in Confusion and Dispair, and being follow'd by most of the *Portugueses*, who no less abhorr'd the Fact, ran to the Fort, crying out to let them see their King, as still doubting of what they heard. The Commander appear'd in Armour on the Wall, and said, *They should see him immediatly*; and then came up a Soldier, bringing the Kings Head with the Royal Turbant on it. After him came others, with his Arms, Legs, and Body cut into small pieces, all which they hung upon the Battlements in the sight of his People. Afterwards they Salted them, as if the perpetuating of the Wrong had been requisite. This was what most provok'd the injur'd People, who no longer able to behold so inhumane a Spectacle, and being beside themselves, and fearing more Mischief, return'd with their Family. The Sons out of Respect to their Fathers Body, went away from *Ternate* to several Islands, tho' in Reality they departed to excite others by their Presence, representing the Hideousness, and Horror of the Fact; and to dispose their Revenge. For the present they were satisfied with sending to complain of the Commander in Chief.

Their Embassador arriv'd at *Goa* clad in White, which is the Mourning of the *Molucco* Islands, and upon the Faith of his Credentials, acquainted the Viceroy with the whole matter; proving the Innocency of the Murder'd Sultan; representing the Wrong done to, and the Sorrow of his Family, and Kingdoms, who so passionately Lov'd him; and beseeching him, in the name of them all, to Right them against the Man, who with the Power and Authority of the *Portuguese* Arms, had Violated the publick Faith and the Laws of Nature. The Viceroy gave him a favourable hearing, tho' by that Time the matter was otherwise represented at *Goa*, at least among the *Portuguese* Nation. They said, That King *Aerio* going to visit the Commander in Chief, *Martin Antonio Pimentel* went in with him, and they contended in Words upon some Point, when the *Portuguese* answering him angrily, they fell to their Weapons, and the King was kill'd in the Quarrel. They added, That he was Advis'd so to do, by some of our Religious Men, who were offended at the Persecution of the Christians, and the Obstructing of the King of *Portugal's* Service. *Pimentel* made his Defence with the Original Letters, of those who perswaded him to commit the Fact, and who afterwards sav'd him. However the Viceroy did not Reject the Plaintiffs; but promis'd to Right them; and to shew that he design'd them farther satisfaction than a bare Promise, he sent away the necessary Supplies for the Security of the Fort of *Ternate*, and *Nunno Pereyra de la Cerda*, a Gentleman of Courage, and the necessary Sagacity to succeed the other in a Post where all things were in Confusion. He also writ to King *Sebastian* of *Portugal*, acquainting him with the Death of King *Aerio*; how Cruelly and Unjustly he had been kill'd; what a Revolution there was cause to fear it might produce; whom he had sent to succeed *Mezquita*; the Orders he had to Secure him, as also *Pimentel*, if he could find him.

Nunno Pereyra arriv'd at *Malaco* with the *Molucco* Embassador, whence, at the proper Season, they Sail'd to *Ternate*, where as soon as they Landed, order was taken for Correcting the Insolency of those in the Garrisons, who

Mezquita's Inhumanity.

Complain'd of at Goa.

False pretences of the Portuguese.

Pereyra succeeds Mezquita.

rob'd

robb'd, and obstructed Trade. When he had settled these Affairs, he seiz'd the late Commander in Chief, *James Lopez*; but did not punish him there, in the sight of those who had been wrong'd, which would have appeas'd them. The new Commander solicited the Kings Sons to return to *Ternate*, and endeavour'd to give them, and the Kingdom Satisfaction. He easily convinc'd them, that the Publick was no way guilty of their Fathers Death, but only the Commander *Mezquita*, who should be severely punish'd. That he deliver'd them the Kings Body, to be Bury'd with due Honour. That they should settle the Succession, offering it to *Cachil Guarate*, *Aerio's* Eldest Son. He told them, the King of *Portugal* did not send his Commanders to be Enemies, but Protectors of the Royal Family and State of *Ternate*, and therefore they should make use of his Arms, as their own. They return'd apparent Thanks for what *Pereyna* did, and being indifferently satisfy'd with his Promises, took the Kings Body. A few Months after, on the Day appointed for the Barbarous Obsequies, Embassadors from the neighbouring Kings, and Kingdoms landed at the City, who all repair'd to the Palace, clad in White, with the dead Kings Sons, and Brothers, the *Sangiacks* and Soldiers, and the Chiefest of them, going into the Room where the Coffin was before the Mourners, who are Officers of the Grave, began their Lamentations and Cryes, they all swore upon the dead Body, to take a Revenge suitable to the Wrong; but because this Resolution requir'd a more deliberate Preparation, they suspended it for a Year. It is reported, that Heaven anticipated them within that time, punishing *Pimentel*, striking him to the Heart with the Disease call'd *Berber*, whereof he dy'd swelling up, and raving.

He fears.

*Revenge
took'd.*

*Assembly
of the In-
dians to
consent.*

The Funeral Rites being perform'd, the Prince took leave of *Nunno Pereyra*, to go over to the Island *Ires*, where they have a most stately Country-House, and the principal Mosque. There they all met on pretence of Diverting themselves after their Sorrow, tho it was now almost two Years since the occasion of it happened. The *Cachilas* and *Sangiacks* repair'd thither under the same Colour, and without loosing any Time, they propos'd the Uniting the Forces of their Kingdoms, and shaking off the *Portuguese* Yoke. *What shall we, said they, value the Portugueses, if once we come to be sensible of our own Strength? What can we Fear, or not Dare to attempt? The Portugueses value him who Robs most, and is guilty of the greatest Crimes and Enormities. The forcing away of our Product, their one lewd Pleasures, and our Wrongs, are Occasion for them to make War; ours are our Country, and the Defence of our Parents, our Wives, our Children, and our Liberty. It is necessary to expedite the Execution, because a Secret is not lasting among many, and in Affairs of this Nature, there is more Danger in Consulting, than even in Execution. We have been already too long in Confusion, without a Head. No Man contradicted; but neither Cachil Guarate, the Eldest of the Brothers, nor the Second, durst take upon them so difficult an Enterprize. Cachile Babre, the Third, undertok it, with the usual Ingagement, either to Conquer, or to Dye. They presently lifted him up, with general Applause, and his Election being made publick, the Kingdom easily submitted to him, through the desire of Revenge; tho' according to the Custom of the *Molucco* Islands, as soon as the King has any Son born, they swear him his Successor, in his turn, and there was then no need*

of any other Oath, yet they again swore to *Cochil Babu*. This done, they went out to their Mosque, in Procession, to offer Sacrifice. A Boy went foremost with a naked Sword on his Shoulder, and with the other Hand leading a Kid, which was to be the Victim, with the little Horns Gilt. The *Alcoran* forbids Sacrificing; but these Islanders receive the Rites of *Mahometanism* so confus'dly, that with them they also retain those of their ancient Idolatry, and intermix the Ceremonies. He that conducts the Sacrifice, is, according to their Custom, follow'd by part of the Kings Soldiers, with their Pikes advanc'd, and after them goes one holding up on high a small Gold Vessel, or Pan, with burning Coals in it, the Frankincense they throw in Smoking. Next to him was the new King, over whose Head they always carry an Umbrello, made of Feathers of several Colours, in shape of a large Semicircle. The King was encompass'd by those Soldiers, that are given him by his Subjects by way of Acknowledgement, like the *Turkish Janizaries*. In this Order they came to the Mosque, at whose Gates, whensoever they are to enter, they find Kettles and Pots full of Water, to wash their Hands and Feet before they go in. As soon as the King was upon the Threshold the Musick play'd, and they spread Milk-white Carpets, as is the Custome: Kneeling on them, they mutter out their vain Prayers, bowing their Heads down to the Ground. In the midst of the Mosque stands a Pulpit, cover'd with white Cloth. Instead of a Bell, there hangs up the holy great flat Drum, which they beat with Stricks; tho each Mosque has a great Bell, without a Clapper, which they strike with a Stone, or piece of Iron, when requisite. All that hear it, of what Condition soever, repair to the Temple, with Pikes, Shields, Cymitars, and Muskets. The profane Sacrifice being ended, they conducted the new King to the Harbour; he went into his *Carcoa*, with his Family, and the other *Singicks*, and great Men, into many others. The King's is so contriv'd, that there is a Gang-way all round it, made of Canes. There are two Slaves to each Oar; others do the Service of the Vessel, and near every one lies a Number of Arrows. Instead of Oars they use a sort of great Paddles, like Spoons, with which they also lade out the Water the Vessel takes in. On the upper part they make Musick with their Tabors, and Sounding-Basons of Metal, according to which they Row faster or slower, as we Dance to our Musick. In the same Place there are seven Brass Guns; a considerable number of Pikes advanc'd, longer than ours, and a Bed adorn'd with Quilts interwoven with Gold, and by it hung the King's Helmet, Breast, and Back Plates. He sat, or lay on that rich Bed, the Servants of his Bed-Chamber Fanning him with a large Wing, made of various colour'd Feathers of the Birds that fly about his Islands; thus he Coasted about, the Sea and Shore resounding with Guns, Shouts, and Barbarous Instruments.

At the same time that they seem'd to be wholly taken up with Sports and Diversions, in the Island *Ires*, they Vow'd an irreconcilable Enmity to the *Portuguese* Nation, with the same Solemnity as they had sworn Allegiance to their King; and this Secret having been inviolably observ'd, when the new K. thought convenient he caus'd it to be Publish'd throughout all his Dominions, which consists of seventy two Islands in that *Archipelago*, betwixt those of *Mindanao*, on the North; *Bima* and *Corca* on the Coast

Sacrifice.

The King's
Carcoa.War Pre-
claim'd.

Dominions of Ternate. South; and the Continent of the *Papuas*, or *Papous*, otherwise call'd *New Guinea* on the East: The Inhabitants whereof pay him their Tribute in Gold, Amber, and Birds of Paradise; all which Provinces have been Usurped from other Kings, on whose Ruins his Pride is swollen so high, that he styles himself in his own Language, Emperor of the *Archipelago*. In most of them there were at that Time some Christian Towns, Churches, and Preachers, and the Gospel was receiv'd in the eight principal Nations. Idolater and Mahometan Embassadors came from them all to acknowledge, and swear Fealty to *Cachil Ratu*. In this great Assembly the Desire of Revenge was made the Cause of Religion, and in it began the longest Persecution the true Faith has undergone in our Days. It will be therefore requisite, distinctly to describe the remote, and neighbouring Countries and Nations that carry'd it on; and the Strength, and standing Forces, they have ready at all times upon any Occasion.

Forces of the Kings of Ternate and Provinces.

The sixteen greater Towns of *Ternate* furnish their K. with 3000 Arm'd Men; the Island of *Montil*, distant from it six Leagues South, 200; that of *Machian*, eight Leagues distant, 1500; that of *Caioa* four Leagues from *Mechian*, the same way, 300; those of *Gazea*, twelve Leagues from *Caioa*, 300; those of *Xula*, fifty Leagues from *Ternate*, 4000; those of *Burro*, seventy Leagues distant, 4000; those of *Veramula* eighty Leagues from *Amboina*, and are the same Number of Leagues in compass 50000; those of *Ruaro*, and *Manipa*, lying betwixt those of *Veramula* and *Burro*, 3000; those of *Na*, *Nolo*, and *New Guinea*, which are many, and very populous, fifty Leagues East from *Ternate*, send no certain, but numerous Forces; that of *Ires*, where the King then was, 400; and pays Tribute in Amber, and Birds of Paradise. Those of *Meaos* and *Tasure*, on the North, 400. Those of *Doe*, distant thirty Leagues some way, 900. Those of *Rao* and *Saquita*, seventy Leagues North, 1000. The great *Batochina*, or *Gilolo*, four Leagues from *Ternate*, 10000. The large Island *Matheo*, contains several Kingdoms, thirty Leagues to the Westward, each of them subject to its own King, and all of them to him of *Ternate*; send him Arm'd Troops. *Totole* send 6000 Men; *Guayduda* 7000; *Gorontano* and *Iliboto*, 10000; *Tomine*, 12000; *Manado*, 2000; *Dondo*, 700; *Labague*, 1000; *Pulo*, and *Fagua*, 10000; *Gafe*, *Tobuquo*, and *Butu* are all subject to him, and the number of their supplies is uncertain; but *Sanguien* and its King, 40 Leagues from *Ternate*, serve him with 3000 Men. This was the standing Force, which without adding to it the uncertain number, nor the multitude of slaves, amounts to 120300 Men. This particular *F. Martin* sent to the Governor *Gamez Perez*, and the original was deliver'd to me. Since then, that Kings Power is increased, and because more Formidable, by reason of his Alliances with several Princes, entering Amity with some, and Oppressing others, and practising the Rules of Tyranny among them all, as Artfully as was formerly done by *Greece*, *Rome*, and *Carthage*. Of their Game, Fish, Rice, Sagu, and other Stores of Fruit and Spice, and the Royal Mines, we shall speak when the Subject in Hand requires it; and so of their Weapons, of which last it is to be observ'd once for all, that those they Dart, are all poison'd, and the Fire-Arms differ not from ours.

For managing of this great Design, the King privately sent about his Brothers, and *Sangiacks*; but so great an Army could not be contracted from such distant Parts, without being heard of by the Christians, and particularly *Nunno Pereyra*. He suspecting that the Desire of Revenge still prevail'd in the injur'd Parties, and that the first Effects of it would fall upon his Fort, tho' the Sultan's Murderer was not then in it, strengthened it proportionably to the Siege he expected. Prudence supplies the Place of Prophecy. The Fort was not then erected, which is since to be seen in *Ternate*, on a high Ground of difficult Ascent, next the Sea, and the Back of it defended by a Lake, next the Mountain; being three Miles distant from the first Fort: It was afterwards built to defend themselves against great Fleets; not satisfy'd with that they had before on the Plain, next the Sea, made of dry Stones, without Mortar; which being since improv'd in all Respects, is now built with Lime, the Walls a Yard and half thick, and Fifteen in Height; Forty in Length next the Sea, with a round Tower at each Angle, like the ancient *Spanish* Fortresses. *Nunno Pereyra* endeavour'd with all possible Diligence, to shut up in it the greatest Number he could of all the Christian Families, and to be in a Readiness to stand the Siege, which soon ensu'd. He sent Advice to *India* and *Portugal* of the Intelligence he had receiv'd, demanding Succours, as in a certain Danger; but it could never have come in Time; for some Part of those Forces being assembled in the Island *Ires*, the Rest staying on *Botochina*, in that Part which is properly call'd *Gilolo*, and is remote from the *Portugueses*, they there began to persecute Christianity by publick Decree.

Pereyra prepares his Defence.

The Portuguese Fort

The Apprehension of these Mischiefs, had much perplex'd all the Governours of those Provinces, because it was daily confirm'd by visible Proofs of an open Insurrection. *James Lopez de Marquita* was already kept Prisoner in the Fort of *Eenastarim* at *Goa*, those confin'd, and the Viceroy expected Orders from *Spain* to dispose of him, and the Forces; because it was fear'd the King of *Ternate* might make use of the great Supplies which cou'd be sent him from *China*; especially if that were certain which was then discours'd in *Spain*. It was reported, That the Council of State, observing that the *Philippine* Islands were rather an Expence, than an Advantage to the Crown, being many, and hard to be maintain'd, had propos'd to King *Philip*, to quit them, and withdraw the Court of Justice, and the Garrisons that defend them. They added the Example of the *Chineses*, who abandon'd them, tho' they are such near Neighbours, and can relieve them with as much Ease, as if they were joyning to their Continent. That as *Spain* governs them, the Loss they occasion is considerable, without any Hopes that it can ever be alter'd for the better; a vast Quantity of Silver being sent thither from *New Spain*, both for the usual Expences, and to buy Commodities; that so all that Treasure is convey'd by the Hands of the *Chineses* into the Heart of those Dominions, render'd intractable by the Severity of their Laws, by which they are trench'd in, as it were with Fortification, against all Commerce with Strangers. They alledg'd that a Monarchy dispers'd, and divided by so many Seas, and different Climates, could scarce be united; nor could humane Wisdom, by settled Correspondence, tie together Provinces so remov'd from one another by Nature. That these Arguments are not the Offspring of Wit, but of Experience, and Truths obvious to the Senses. That all such as might be urg'd against them, were only grounded upon Honour, and full of a generous Sound, but difficult in the Execution; and therefore the best Expedient, was for the King to strengthen himself in *Europe*, where his Forces can be ready to meet all Dangers, without being expos'd to the Hazards of the Sea, and the Dominions of others. Each of these Arguments was so fully represented by the Officers of the Revenue, that the Proposal was thought worthy to be debated and consider'd; and had God permitted the King to exclude the *Philippine* Islands his Monarchy, leaving them expos'd to the first that would take Possession, the *Moluccos* had so far been strengthen'd, as to become unconquerable.

Project of abandoning the Philippine Islands.

Reasons for it.

The same Thing has been propos'd at other Times, and in the Days of King *Philip* the III^d. who sticking to his Father's Answer, has always rejected that

mischievous

King Philip
rejects it.

His Reasons

Product of
Asia.

Arguments
against
quitting
the Philip-
pines.

mischievous Advice. That most prudent Monarch answer'd, That the *Philippines* should be maintain'd, in the same Manner they were, and the Court should be invested with more Authority, that Justice might prevail, for he laid the Strefs of Government, on its being upright, and impartially administer'd. That in the same manner the Troops should be kept up there, and maintain'd out of the Revenues of *New-Spain*, or any other of his Kingdoms, since all the Treasures discover'd, or still hid in the Bowels of the Mines, ought to be apply'd to the Propagation of the Gospel. For what would the Enemies of *Christ* say, if they perceived that the *Philippine* Islands were left destitute of the true Light, and its Ministers to propagate it, because they did not produce rich Metals, and other Wealth, like the Rest of the fruitful Islands in *Asia* and *America*? That all the Power of Kings, ought to be subservient to this Sovereign End, as becomes Sons of the Church, and Promoters of the Apostolical preaching, which is continu'd by Succession. That since he had refused to mitigate the least Point of his Severity towards his Northern Subjects, or to grant them Liberty of Conscience; why should he remit any thing among Heathens, and *Mahometans*, which were the Harvest God had assign'd him, to enrich the Church with those Children, so remote? Thus the Project was put down, and this has always been the glorious Resolution, when mistaken Zeal, or worldly Interests have propos'd the quitting of those Dominions. This seems to have been a peculiar Providence of Heaven, which knew how soon they were all like to belong to the same Master, and that the Right and Conquests should be all United in his Person, the one being the Means to recover the other, as has been seen in our Days.

King *Philip* was govern'd by this Religious Motive; but there were others urg'd by such as were acquainted with the Riches of *Asia*, which are chiefly Diamonds, Rubies, large and Seed Pearl, Amber-Greece, Musk, Civer, Camphir of *Borneo* and *China*, Vermillion, Coral, Quick-Silver, Copper, fine Muslins, and Calicoes of *Cambaya* and *Bengala*, Carpets, Coverlets, and fine Quilts. *Persian* Silks, Brocard, Ivory, Rheubarb, Cardamome, *Cassia Fistula*, Frankincense, Benjamin, Wax, China-Ware, Lake for dying, and Philyck, Cloves, Mice, Gold, Silver, Medicinal Plants, Aloes, Eagle Wood, Calamba, Ebony, and very many more rare Trees, Drugs, Spices, and Ornaments. All this they said, *Venice* lost, when the Trade was remov'd to *Portugal*; and this same stir'd up the Sultan of *Egypt*, as well knowing therein consist'd all substantial Wealth, to enter into a Confederacy with all the Kings of *India*; who were already alarm'd by the *Portuguese* Fleets; so that they at the common charge fitted out a Navy of Galleys, and other Vessels, in the Port of *Suez* furnish'd it with Cannon, and put aboard 3000 *Mamelucks*, besides a great Number of *Venetian* and *Genoise* Renegadoes. With this Power the Sultan enter'd *India*, in the Year 1508, and tho' the King of *Cambaya* assist'd him, he was vanquish'd by the *Portuguese* in the Port of *Chaul*. They urg'd, That at present these Riches are still more valuable, and that if the Trade of them were once brought into the Way of the *Philippine* Islands, it would save all the Dangers met with, by the way of *Amboyna*, *Banda*, *Borneo*, and the many Shoals about them, as also the many Storms those narrow Seas are subject to. For the Clove particularly was brought by the *Portuguese*, in their Trading Galeon, which goes from *Goa* to the *Moluccos*, to pay their Garrisons. In this Ship they every year carry'd away to *Malaca* and *Goa*, 24000 Quintals, or Hundred Weight of Cloves, little more or less. At those Ports it was dealt to *Persians*, *Turks*, *Chineses*, and *Africans*, so that scarce the third Part came to *Europe*. The King of *Achem*, in *Sumatra*, secur'd another Part, whence it was sent to *Alexandria*. All these Commodities, when they come to *Malaca*, pay eight per Cent. The Spice that comes into *Spain* is distributed into all the Kingdoms of *Europe*; and it might be easily contriv'd, say these People, to bring the greatest Part to *Spain* from the *Philippine* Islands; which would be one of the noblest Projects, that will be thought of for the improving of the Revenue, considering what a great Price Clove bears in *Spain*, and how cheap it is in the *Molucco*. This was the Opinion when those Islands belong'd to another Master, and it was no easie Matter to divert the Trade of Spice, and other Goods, from the usual *India* Voyage. Besides the Religious Men of the Orders of St.

Augustin

Agustin and *St. Dominick*, had already propagated the Faith in those and other Islands, whence that which flourish'd, and advanc'd in *Ternate* and *Tydore* was Fed.

Cachil Babu sail'd with his Brothers, and a great Number of Vessels from *Ires* for *Ternate*, with much Joy, and forebodings of Victory; greater Forces continually joining him, through the earnest Desire they had all of delivering those Parts from the *Portuguese* Domination. As soon as ever they arriv'd at *Ternate*, they landed, and immediately invested the Fort, which they call'd the *Seat of Servitude*. They assaulted the Houses of the *Portugueses*, and that so suddenly, that though they had Notice before, and lived in Fear, they scarce stood upon their Defence. Rage and Success made a more than Barbarous Havock. They set Fire to the Houses with Fury, and popular Tumult; so that whatsoever was not within a Wall and Ditch, perish'd that Day. Those in the Fort attempted to succour their People; but greater Numbers of *Ternates* coming on, kill'd some of those, who had sally'd out, not only with Darts of solid Canes, which they cast most dexteriously, with Arrows, Cymiters and Shields, which they us'd when Idolaters; but with Muskets and other Fire Arms. The rest of the *Portugueses* routed, fled to their Fort; for those who had gain'd Reputation by so many brave Exploits, were that Day depriv'd of their Courage, by the Injustice of the Action they had been concern'd in. They sent again to *Goa* to desire Relief, and to represent the Distress, not only of the Fort of *Ternate*, but of all the others the King of *Portugal* held in those Eastern Parts; for they had cast off Subjection to him in most of them. They forgot not to mention the persecution of the Religion, and the scarcity of Arms and Provisions, of both which the *Ternates* had deprived them. These News were blown into *India* and *Spain* by other Ways; and all the while the Siege lasted *Goa* sent Succours to the *Moluccos*, in their trading Galeons; but the vast Distance, the many Shoals, and the violent Storms those Seas are subject to, occasion'd the Loss of those Ships, or put them by their intended Voyage.

Portuguese Fort besieged.

Desolation.

Tydore and Ternate mortal Enemies.

The Commanders in those Eastern Ports, who follow'd the Example of those of *Ternate* were not Idle; for the *Portugueses*, tho' the reducing of those Rebels succeeded not at that Time, did not miss of obtaining other Victories, which should we relate them here, would make this look more like a History of all *India* than of one small part of it; besides that the *Portuguese* Nation has not wanted Learned Authors, who have transmitted them to us, where they may be seen at large. The *Spaniards* have also done the like, in a much more loftier Style than mine. We must therefore circumscribe our selves, and return to the *Moluccos*, where the Besieged, as it were forsaken, and abandon'd by all the Earth, endure the Hardships and Perils of Places so streightned.

Thus all their Hopes, under Heaven, depended on their own Valour, and the inviolable Friendship of the King of *Tydore*, so implacable an Enemy to him of *Ternate*, that neither the Neighbourhood of the Kingdoms, divided only by an Arm of the Sea, a League and half over, in the midst whereof is a small Desert Island, which almost joyns them, nor the ancient and reiterated Alliances, do in the least abate of their Hatred, which seems to be fatal, and consequently unavoidable betwixt those two Kings and Nations.

However, the *Ternates* being always intent upon War, and thinking no Practice unlawful, that may secure their Success, they ply'd their Weapons on one Hand, and on the Other, carry'd on their Intrigues, for a Pacification with the King of *Tydore*: not so much out of any Desire of coming to a Conclusion with him, as to the End that being amaz'd with the Hopes of Peace, he might grow slack in Relieving and Assisting the Besieged. They offer'd to restore him some Places, taken from him during the late Wars; and to give him those and others, as a Portion with a Daughter to the King of *Ternate*; besides other Advantages, of which Accommodation the King of *Bachian* was the chief Manager. To these fair Offers, they added Threats; and both the Kings and their Nations agreeing in Religion, and it being easy to cover any Occasion of War under fair Pretences; it happen'd that the *Tydores*, at least while this Politick Game was playing, did not afford their Succours with the same Zeal as they had done at first; and that

Practices of Babu with Tydore.

King,

*Policy of
the K. of
Tydore.*

King, who till then had been a constant Friend, upon another Consideration, deferred his coming to a Resolution. He waited, as well as the Besieged, the Arrival of the *Portuguese* Succours, and several of his *Carcoas* often touch'd at the Islands of *Borneo*, to enquire what Ships pass'd that Way from *India*. They examin'd every Vessel they met, and every slight Intelligence puff'd them up, or quite cast them down. In short, both Parties protracted the Time, with so little Regard to any other Principles, that all their Courage and Fidelity, depended on it alone.

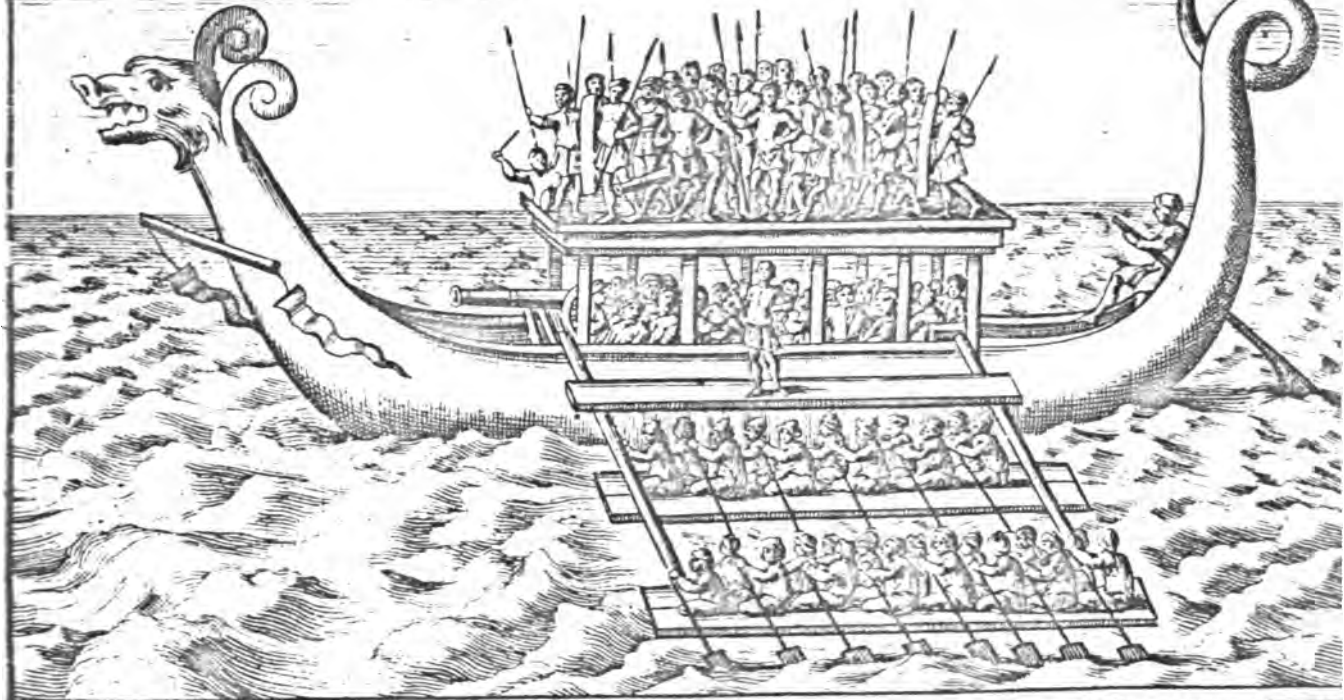
This is so certain, that the King of *Tydore* being just at the Point of accepting the Wife, and Lands offer'd him by the Enemy, fell off upon the News brought him, that a Galleon was seen sailing for the *Molucco* Islands, and he rejected all the Proposals. It was afterwards known to be bound for the *Philippine* Islands, and belong'd neither to the *Portuguese* nor *Spaniards*; but to *Venetian* Merchants, who traded between *Manila* and *China*, with several Commodities of their own Country, and other Parts of the *Levant*: so that the King of *Tydore*, and the Besieged themselves began to make fresh Reparations, like Men that sharpen their Weapons, and fit their Armour.

*Sallies,
and the
Length of
the Siege.*

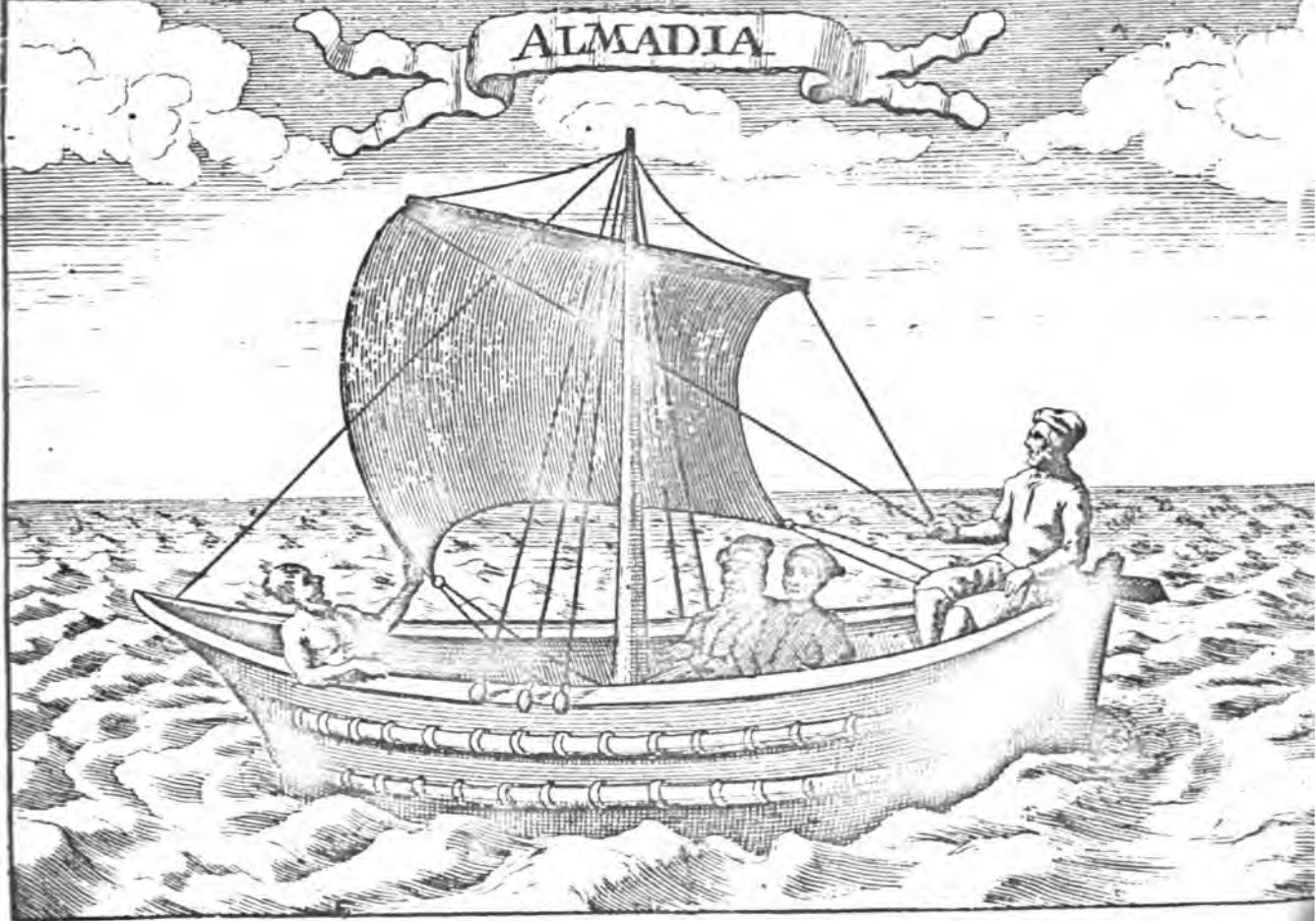
These Succours encourag'd them to several bold Attempts. The Besieged made a Salley, to nail up the Enemies Cannon, and tho' few in Number, several Times assaulted their Camp, still returning Victorious, without any considerable Loss. They dismounted all their Cannon from the Walls, their Works nothing availing them, because they were not made according to Art. The Siege lasted five Years, the *Portuguese* sustaining it with notable Resolution, and the *Indians* pressing with no less Obstinacy; nor would the Hunger, Thirst, Nakedness, and the Hardships of the Seasons have been tollerable, had not they been common to both Parties. Extream Want, was the Occasion of several signal Exploits of that Valour, wherewith they defended their Lives, and the Fort. This produc'd Rage and Admiration in the Enemy; and an affectionate Compassion in the Women of the Island; among whom they found Advice, Secrecy, Intelligence and known Favour. So great is the Power of Persecuted Virtue, that it prevails, even upon those Enemies, who harbour the Memory of a Wrong, to convert it, first into a Desire of forgetting it, and without long Interposition of Time, produces a Zeal to support that Valour they first hated.

The End of the Second Book.

CORCOA



ALMADIA



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. III.

BOTH Sides now took the Breathing of a short Cessation; advantageous to *Ternate* for the Liberty of Trade, and to the *Portugueses*, because it gain'd Time to their Hope of Relief, which they concluded must be near at Hand, by Reason it had been long expected. They were not discouraged by Events, those having prov'd alternatively Successful and Unfortunate, and Victory was to's'd to and fro; besides that the Interruption of Commerce had knit some the closer together in Friendship. I could mention several Instances of this Sort, contain'd in Letters, and other *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Relations, sent by Religious Men from the *Moluccos*, to the Governours of the *Philippine* Islands, whose Papers have, upon this Occasion, been lay'd before me, for my better Information, for which Reason we may make Use of some of them, without departing from the main Subject. The gravest of the *Greek* and *Latin* Historians sometimes intermix private Adventures, as it were short Episodes to divert the Reader. The Example of great Masters is a sufficient Authority for Learners, for which Reason I may well be allow'd this Freedom.

*Cessation
of Arms.*

One *Duarte*, a brave Ensign, had contracted strict Friendship with *Cachil Tudura*, which was no way obstructed by the Difficulties of the Seige, nor so much as interrupted. *Duarte* was wont in the dead of the Night, to go safely into the City in the Habit of the Country, and by the Help of the Language, being Master of it, where he was privately admitted into his Friend's House, and well receiv'd there on another Account by *Tudurisa*, his

*A Love
Story.*

his only Daughter, who, being prevail'd on by the Love she bore *Duarte*, imbrac'd the Christian Religion. The Father was not unacquainted with their Love, but he also knew that it was attended by Modesty in *Tudurisa*, and true Courtesy in *Duarte*. Returning to the Fort, he used to be taken in the same dangerous way, by those Persons who had let him down with a Rope. He brought with him some Intelligence and Provisions; but he came not so entire himself, for the *Indian* Woman, who was to be his Wife, had robb'd him of his Heart. *Nunno Pereyra* going the Rounds miss'd the Ensign at his Post, and enquiring into it, understood the Cause of his Absence; in Respect to which, considering the mighty Power it often has over great Souls, he conniv'd at the Breach of Martial Discipline, assigning that to the Passion, without reproving the Lover. Whether he follow'd the Example we read of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, in the like Case, or on Account that Experience shows, there is Nothing can hold a Lover so fast as the Presence of the lov'd Object; *Pereyra* enjoining all Persons to keep the Secret, contriv'd, without offending *Tudura*, that his Daughter should come privately into the Fort, which she consented to, without many Perswasions. Having so done, the Commander in Chief, calling his Ensign, said to him, *I am inform'd, that at certain Times, and that when the Danger is greatest, you forsake us; but that it is not for want of Affection, or not knowing the Duty of your Post; tho' we were not confin'd to these narrow Walls, I would not punish your Failure, because Mildness has ever been more efficacious for correcting of Generous Souls, than Rigour. It will not be convenient for the Future, that we be left without you, and in Fear for what may befall you: Here is your Wife, and then she appear'd, brought hither without any Force, or Opposition from her Father. Take her to you lovingly, and donat suffer the Honour of Portugal, depending on these few Men, to want the Bravery of so able an Officer. Duarte was amaz'd, generously out of Countenance, full of Love, and knew not what to say; but was excus'd by his Friends, and even by Nunno Pereyra.*

Hopes and Despair of the Besieged. It was now the Year 1575, when the Besieged began to conceive some Hopes of their Deliverance; because the *Saugiacks* and *Cachils* of the King of *Ternate's* Race were divided into Factions, and there wanted not some among them, who endeavour'd to draw the *Portugueses* over to their Party. These Misunderstandings made them act less vigorously; and did not they look on theirs as the Common Cause, the Design had succeeded. The *Portugueses* in this Condition, despairing of all Relief, the Natives of *Ternate* on the other Side of the Island, next those of the *Megos*, discover'd a Galeon coming from *Malaca*, having coasted about *Borneo*; they concluded it was that which brought the Succours from *Portugal*, and being assur'd it was so, they became unanimous again, and press'd on the Siege; but Force little prevailing against the Resolution of the Besieged, *Cachil Tulo*, by Permission, propos'd some Terms, which the Commander in Chief had long listen'd to from the Wall. One Day making several Overtures, *Tulo* told him, That the King, his Brother, was willing to put an End to that tedious Siege, upon any Conditions. That to this Effect he had concluded a Peace with the King of *Tydore*, that he might not relieve them for the Future. That the King of *Bachian* had

joyn'd

Proposals of Accommodation, and Reasons for it.

joyn'd him for the same Purpose; to the End, that since they were all convinc'd that was their common Cause, they might with their joynt Power make their utmost Efforts. That the Cessation which had lasted till then, tho' advantages to the King, as encouraging the Trade with the *Javanese*, and *Rumes*, who came to Load Clove, must of Necessity cease. He ask'd how long they would expose their Lives to the utmost Dangers, only to gain an empty Name of *Loyal Subjects*, which, perhaps, would never be known to him that was to reward it. He bid them consider the Villany of his Father, King *Aerio's* Death, and that by their Obstinate holding out they made the Murderers Cause more Criminal. That they thus show'd they approv'd of anothers Treachery, whose Punishment they would compass by other Means. That they ought to be very thankfull, that the King would not involve them in the Guilt of that Wretch, who contrary to his solemn Oath, to the Laws of Friendship, and the Honour of the *Portuguese* Nation, or rather to Nature it self, had Murder'd that King, who most inviolably observ'd the Faith he had engag'd to him. Besides, that they were sensible how little Comfort uncertain Hopes could afford amidst real Wants; and how impracticable it was for Relief to come from so great a distance, through such boisterous Seas, causing so many Shipwrecks, and which seem'd to have conspir'd against those who had oppress'd and injur'd *Ternate*.

He concluded his Discourse requiring the Commander in Chief, to deliver up the Fort, or expect the utmost Rigour; for if he once refus'd the Terms offer'd, and provok'd them, they would spare neither Sex, nor Age. The Besieg'd were not free from Jealousie, that there was Fraud in these Offers; yet, perceiving that the Succours never came from *India*, either because retarded by the *African* War, in which King *Sebastian* had engag'd himself, or by the Difficulties of that dangerous Voyage; and believing that the two Kings of *Tydore* and *Ternate* were reconcil'd, as *Tulo* told them, thinking he of *Tydore*, without whose support they could not subsist, had forsaken their Friendship, the Proposals were accepted by unanimous Consent, after *Nuno Pereyra* had return'd a resolute Answer, suitable to that Part of *Cachil Tulo's* Words, which contain'd any Threats, signifying to him, how little they mov'd himself, or his Men; and that he would hearken to no Conditions to the disservice of his God, or his King, or to disparage the Bravery of his Soldiers, which had been so often try'd to the cost of the Natives of *Ternate*; nevertheless upon some other Considerations, he would surrender the Fort, provided that all the *Portuguese*s might march out in a Body, Colours Flying, with their Wives, Children, Slaves, and all their Goods, having first Hostages given them to their content, that no Harm, or Injury should be done them. That the King should secure them their Passage to *Amboyna*, and find them Vessels; and that such as should happen to be left in his Dominions for want of them, should have no Ransome demanded of them, either then, or at the time of their departure. That the Fort and Guns should be deliver'd to King *Babu*, upon express Condition, That he should hold it for the King of *Portugal*, and in his Name, to whom he should restore it, whensoever he effectually punish'd the Murder of King *Aerio*. The King easily Granted, and Swore to perform all those Conditions, being eager to possess himself of the Fort, before the Succours arriv'd, which were now near at hand. On the Day appointed, which was Saint

*The Besieg-
ed Surren-
der.*

*The Cap-
itulation.*

*The Fort
Delivered.*

Stephen's, the *Ternates* took up all the advantageous Posts to view the *Portugueses*, who march'd out as if they had been Conquerors; and no sooner were they out of the Fort, than the Natives running in, possess'd themselves of the Guns, with loud Laughter and Shouts, Scoffing at those that left it; for the third Day after the Galeon arriv'd, well Mann'd, and furnish'd with Guns, and all Necessaries, and *James de Azambuja* in it, as Commander in Chief. They had thoughts of Recovering the Fort, but it was too late, because the Enemy was possess'd of all Things, without any Opposition. *Pereyra* then perceiv'd how great an Obstacle Precipitation is to the chusing of the safest Advice, and how infallibly it is follow'd by fruitless Repentance; since had he delay'd but never so little longer, tho' it were only to weigh the Enemies Proposals, who ought never to be suppos'd Sincere, he might have sav'd himself and Destroy'd them. For this Reason, tho' he wanted not an honourable Excuse, he resolv'd not to return to *Goa*, having private Intelligence that the Viceroy would not fail to secure him, in Order to cut off his Head. *Azambuja* protected him in his Galeon, and he went over with many others to *Amboyna*. The rest spread themselves throughout the Neighbouring Islands, in Vessels they begg'd. Some return'd to *Malaca*, and only sixteen *Portuguese* Families remain'd in *Ternate* for want of Shipping; who at first submitted to the change of their Fortune; but could not afterwards comply with the Difference there is betwixt Domination and Servitude. The King of *Tydore* a most trusty Friend to the *Spaniards* in their greatest Affliction, offer'd them his Islands, Houses, and Trade of Spice. He sent them a good Number of *Carcoas*, which carry'd them over to his Dominions, and soon after assign'd them a convenient Place to build their Houses and Churches. This Colony was increased, and the Number of its Inhabitants augmented by *Sancho de Vasconcelos*, who sent others from *Malaca*, being Commander in Chief of *Goa*, and afterwards of *Amboyna*, in the Year 1578. At last he came thither himself, and erected a Fort, a quarter of a League from the City of *Tydore*, which gives its Name to the Island.

Portugueses settle at *Tydore*.

Tydore describ'd.

Tydore, in the Language of those Parts, which was formerly spoken, signifies, Fertility and Beauty. *Europeans* generally give it this Name; but its King, as appears by his *Arabick* and *Persian* Subscriptions, Writes *Tudura*, and not *Tydore*. It is not inferior to *Ternate* for Fruitfulness, and Delight, but far exceeds it in Magnitude and Populoufness; and yields the same Aromatick Product. Curious Persons have there try'd to improve the Clove, watering and pruning the Tree at proper Seasons, and it appears to embrace the Helps of Art, by growing bigger, more active in its Vertue, and the Scent stronger. The white Sanders here come to more Perfection, than in any other of the Eastern Parts. In this, as well as the other *Molucco* Islands are found those Birds, they, in their Language, call *Manucodiatas*, signifying Birds of Paradise, from a Fable, credited by those superstitious People, that they came down from Heaven. The Fort here was afterwards enlarg'd by *Nuno Pereyra*, not far from the Port, and then by *James de Azambuja*. The latter did not only contribute with his Industry, but with his Labour, carrying the Materials himself, when it was requisite to set the Soldiers an Example, and forward the Work; which the King often view'd, and was well pleas'd to see the Fortifications. He

Birds of Paradise.

Fort of *Tydore*.

discours'd

discours'd familiarly with the Officers, advis'd with them in his Wars, and comforted the Christians, and they far'd best, for from that Time forward, there being none in *Ternate*, and that Fort in the Hands of the Natives, the Heathens and *Mahometans* seem'd to be Superior and Conquerors throughout all those Provinces. They strengthen'd themselves with Works and other Preparations, erected Forts on high Places, and bending their Minds against the Christians, put many to cruel Martyrdoms; that so the Foundation of our Faith may be in all Parts cemented with the Blood of the Faithful. They dismember'd the Bodies, and burnt the Legs and Arms in the sight of the still Living Trunks. They impal'd the Women, tore out their Bowels, and they surving themselves, beheld their still moving Flesh in the Hands of their Executioners. Children were pull'd Piecemeal before their Mothers Eyes, and Infants still in Embrio were rent from their Wombs. It has been made out, that above 60000 Christians fell by the Sword in only the King of *Ternate's* Dominions. This is asserted in the Annual Relations of the Fathers of the Society, who preach'd in those Parts. They give an Account of this dismal Persecution, with all the Circumstances of the Cruelties; as how the persecuted Persons fled to the Mountains, seeking for Compassion among the wild Beasts, others cast themselves into the Sea, where they perish'd, either devour'd by its Monsters, or swallow'd by the Waves themselves, not being able to reach the other Islands. A considerable Number of these religious Fugitives, as they swam met a *Portuguese* Ship, coming to the Relief of those at *Amboyna*, and with dismal Voices cry'd out, *Help, Relieve us, for we are Christians*. They carefully took them up in their Boats, and having view'd them at Leasure, found that none of them were above 12 Years of Age. Yet at this same Time, when cruelty advanc'd God's Glory, Providence seem'd to act Counter in the very Cities, and Deserts. Idolaters and *Mahometans* were converted, and our Religious Men preach'd and catechis'd, without any Fear of Punishment, which they rather coveted, and thought themselves unworthy of it; encouraging one another with the Examples the Tyrant made, for several Purposes. But all those People looking upon it as their Duty to seek Revenge, their Cruelty gaining Applause under that Name, and *Europe* being involv'd in Dismal Troubles, they met with no Opposition in the Execution of their Vengeance, and the Calamity ran so high, that in the space of thirty Years, they either quite obliterated, or much obscured the Name of Christianity in those Eastern Parts, destroy'd our Churches, and, like those who prepare to hunt wild Beasts, arm'd themselves against the Faithful who liv'd in more security among those savage Creatures, or in Deserts never penetrated by Men, feeding on Herbs, and gaining Time, by that lawful Retreat for the sake of the Gospel, for the Wrath of Heav'n, whose Executioners those Men were, to pass over. Above 36 Towns, of each 800 Inhabitants in *Gilolo* and *Celebes*, a spacious and populous Country, and in those of the two Kings of *Sian* and *Sanguit*, who profess'd Christianity, with most of their Subjects, in the Kingdom of *Cauripana*; in that of *Bachian*, whose King and his People were Sons of the Church; in the Islands of *Amboyna*, where Forty Towns worshipped CHRIST, in the Bosom of his Faith, and in those of *Tydore*, which were

Persecution.

Many Apostatize.

not

not without this Light ; in all those Places they fell off from Christianity, and were utterly lost ; first through the Insolency of the *Portuguese* Commanders, and lastly on Account of the Death of *Sultan Aerio* ; who, as was prov'd, had given no real, nor so much as a likely Token of Falshood, for which they might be provok'd to destroy him. However the Christians dy'd with such Resolution, that the Persecuters took not away any Life but what became a fresh Example of Magnanimity, and perhaps Providence might permit that Accident of *Aerio*, with a Design to advance the Churches Glory.

Augustin Nunez sent to Command at *Amboyna*. *Sultan Babu* making his present Victory an Instrument to obtain others, Ship'd his Men, in Order to besiege *Tydore* and *Bachian* ; and tho' he met with a vigorous Defence in both Places, and the *Portuguese* Auxiliaries made some Amends for his Superiority of Power, yet they submitted to the Tyrant. This Revenge made him stick at no Cruelty. In *November*, this same Year, a Galeon came to *Malaca* from *India*, to carry Succours for the *Moluccos*, commanded by Captain *Augustin Nunez*, the Eldest and Bravest Commander in those Days, as he made it appear in the Expedition of *Chaul*, when it was besieged by *Niza Molucco*, when *Don Luys de Atayde* was Viceroy of *India*, in the year 1578. The Galeon was stor'd with all Necessaries, and in it *James Lopez de Mezquita*, the Murderer of *Aerio*, design'd for Punishment, in Satisfaction for the Wrong done. He was so strong, and fierce, that to secure him, he was fetter'd with a great Chain, the End whereof was made fast to a heavy Piece of Brass Cannon. *Augustin Nunez* had Orders to convey him to the new King of *Ternate*, to be deliver'd to him bolted, like a Criminal, that he might pass such a sentence of Death on him as he thought fit, which should be executed in his Presence, pursuant to the Orders sent by the King of *Portugal*. They put him on double Fetters, Manacles, and Chains, and kept him in the Steeridge. *Augustin Nunez* went to succeed *Sancho de Vasconcelos*, in the Fort of *Amboyna* ; but a storm rising, he was forc'd into the Port of *Japara*, of *Sunda*, in the greater *Java*. The Galeon wanting water, and Refreshment, he there sent for it ; which the Native *Javanese*s brought him in 40 Vessels. Among them came 150 Soldiers in the Habit of Peasants, and Fishermen ; who making many words as is usual among Buyers and Sellers, drew the Ponyards they brought conceal'd, and surprizing the *Portuguese*s, fell on with such Fury and Cruelty, that they kill'd them all. Among them dy'd *James Lopez de Mezquita*, but fighting with extraordinary Bravery, tho' held by his Chain, hinder'd by his Fetters, and other heavy Encumbrances, and restrain'd by the Cannon, to which his Chain was made fast. However he got a Sword and a Buckler where-with he cut down ten *Javanese*s, revenging on them the Death of the *Portuguese*s, and they on him, that of King *Aerio* of *Ternate*, which had occasion'd so much Slaughter. Seventy three Christians were kill'd and above the same Number of *Javanese*s, and their Vessels had been taken, but that others came to their Assistance from the Shore in the Heat of the Action, in which there were Men with Fire-Locks and Lances, six Yards and a Quarter long, the Points of them poison'd. The Galeon was taken without any Succour, nor was the Cannon of any Use.

It is but reasonable that so manly and honourable a Death should, as is usual,

usual, render all this Gentlemans Life honourable ; and that his Fetters, and Sufferings joyn'd to it, excite Compassion and Affection in the minds of the Readers, so to blot out the Hatred they have conceiv'd against him on Account of *Sultan Aerio's* Death. It is to be observ'd, for his justification that it does not appear, nor is it reported, he was incens'd to perform that Act through Interest, Ambition, or any other private Motives ; but was mov'd to it by Informations which perswaded him it was convenient, for the Establishing and Advancement of Religion, and the publick Peace. Very brave men must also be allow'd some Excesses of Fierceness, which proceed from an extraordinary Force in the irascible Part of the mind, and wherein Valour is subdu'd. When these Persons find themselves encompass'd by great Numbers, and streightned by wrongful Violence ; if they are not to be daunted and overcome, it comes to pass that Patience often provok'd turns that Courage into Fury and Rage, which causes them to make mighty Slaughters, and Examples of Cruelty ; led to it not only by Passion, but also by Judgment and Thought, which directs them to cause themselves to be dreaded even to Astonishment, to save themselves and their People from other great Cruelties which usually mean Souls attempt and practice upon those they stand much in Fear of. Let this Reflection serve for a general Excuse to other Offences of this sort mention'd, or blam'd in our History.

His Vindication.

This Accident, inas much as related to the Death of *James Lopez de Mezquita*, was forgot, or at least not known for many Years, for in 1603 the King of *Ternate* demanded Justice of our King, against that Man not knowing that God had summon'd him before a more upright Tribunal. The News being brought to *Malaca*, the Commander *Arias de Saldana* immediately sent away another Galeon, he call'd *S. Peter* and *S. Paul*, for the *Moluccos* under command of *Peter Lopez de Sousa*, and a Galley with 150 Soldiers to relieve *Sancho de Vasconcelos* at *Ambocyna*, where he wanted Provisions, and was streightned. They sail'd in May 1579, to touch at *Borneo*, there to take in all Necessaries for the Design. He arriv'd on that Island in *June*, and found it in an Uproar, occasion'd by the *Spaniards* who came thither with Doctor *Sandi*, Governour of the *Philippine* Islands in 30 rowing Vessels. He took the City, and put the King to flight, who was a Lover of the *Portugueses*, and from that time *Manila* began to be look'd upon as a place of Arms, for the recovering of the *Molucco* Islands ; and if *Sandi* had then employ'd those, he carry'd to this other Expedition against them, he would have found the Tyrant less settled, and consequently his Revenge more easy. *Vasconcelos* died at *Ambocyna*, and *James de Azambuja* succeeded him, so that nothing came now from *India* but fair Promises. In the *Philippine* Islands they had no Orders at that Time to intermeddle in those Wars, because they then belong'd to another Sovereign, and therefore they were only Lookers on to those Martyrdoms, and Revolutions and employ'd themselves as they us'd in *Camboja*, *Mindanao*, *Japan* and *China*, and then particularly in *Borneo*, without regarding those other Successes.

Peter Lopez de Sousa sent to Moluccos.

Spaniards at Borneo.

Borneo lies between *Malaca* and the *Moluccos*, and according to the Opinion of *Gerard Mercator*, is that which *Ptolomy* calls, the Island of Good Fortune. A Point of it lies under the Equinoctial, and the greater Part stretches out to 6 Degrees of North Latitude, taking up the two first Parallels. Thus it appears to be above 400 Leagues in Compass. It abounds

Borneo described.

in Provisions, and all other Necessaries for the Support of humane Life. And produces abundance of Camphire, Agarick Diamonds, vast Numbers of Horses, smaller than the *Spanish*; but it has not such plenty of Sheep, or Kine: There is a general Resort of Trade in all its Populous Cities and Ports. The Capital is *Borneo*, which gives Name to the Island, built on a Spacious Lake the Sea Forms, like *Venice*, and said to contain 23000 Houses: The King is a *Mahometan*; no man speaks to him but by the Interposition of an Interpreter. The Natives worship Idols. They are White, good Natur'd and sharp Witted: They have no certain Fashion of Cloaths. Many of them wear Cotton Shirts, and others of white common single Tabby, with red Lists.

King of
Borneo's
Brothers
at Manila.

Spaniards
overthrow
that King.

He is re-
stored.

Sirelela, Brother to this King, came to *Manila*, where Doctor *Sandi* being then Governour, he laid before him his Pretensions, and some Means he had for bringing his Designs to bear; but he put the main Stress upon his having a greater Party there, than the King his Brother. He promised which would be no difficult Matter, in Regard of the Hatred the People bore the King, that he would make the Kingdom Tributary to the Kings of *Spain*. The Governour having taken sufficient Precautions, condescended to his Request, and arming as many *Spaniards*, and *Philippines* as he thought convenient, with all Necessaries for a great Enterprize, ship'd them, and arriv'd happily at *Borneo*. He attack'd it in several Places; the best of the People immediately declar'd for the Brother. The King thinking himself weakest at Sea, reserv'd his Forces for the Land, and being deceiv'd in his Expectation, was forc'd to fly, his Army being routed, without any Remains to attend him in the Deserts, and Retreats of the Mountains, where he liv'd miserably. *Sirelela* ascended the Throne; the Victorious *Spaniards* return'd to the *Philippine* Islands loaded with Booty; and among other Things, if we may believe Relations, brought 600 Pieces of Artillery. However the depos'd King, a few Months after, got to a Head again. No Man ought to Despair in Adversity, for Fortune is nothing but the Will of God. Thus the King, with the Assistance of the *Portuguses*, recover'd his Throne, casting down his Brother, and defeating him, till he was utterly destroy'd. Hatred is frequently no less intense than Love among those whom Nature has most closely link'd. In the *Molucco* Islands the War did not cease, nor the general Malice against Christians.

A Prodigy.

The News of what had happened there was not known in *Europe*, where, and in *Africk* greater Dangers were apprehended; of the Event whereof Providence thought fit to inform our free Wills, by stupendious Prodigies. On the 15th of *June* 1580, about the declining of the Day, there appear'd to certain Sailers a Large Crucifix in the Body of the Sun the Foot of the Cross standing on Mount *Calvary*, as we see in common Pictures; on the Right Side of it a Figure clad in White, and another on the left in a deep Red. The Crucifix ascended upwards, and was still seen to mount till the Sun Setting, the Day shut in. This was seen by all those who came in a Caravel, from the Island of *St. Michael* ten Leagues before they came to that of *St. George*, the Bishop whereof residing in that of *Angla*, sent the Affidavit of it to King *Philip* the Second, which was receiv'd and much talked of by the Judge *Freytas*, a grave Person. All the Men of the Caravel sign'd it, as Eye-Witnesses, who affirm, That being touch'd with it, they

they confelst'd their Sin at the Sight of the Prodigy, begging Mercy with Sighs and Tears. Our Understandings ought to stand amaz'd, and praise, him that produces both what is Natural, and Miraculous, and who by so many Warnings shows us, that he has reserv'd Times, and Moments in his own Hand.

King *Sebastian*, at that Time had other Conquests in View. The Loss or the Recovery of *Ternate* and the neighbouring *Moluccos* concern'd him alone; but he referr'd that to the Governour of *India*; whilst he himself, solicited by the *Xerif Muley Mahomet*, whom he design'd to set upon the Throne of *Morocco*, tho' with a good Design, joyn'd the *African Army*, with another of *Catholicks*, consisting of the *Portuguese Gentry*, of *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans*. And, if we may believe those who committed that Expedition to writing, he went over into *Africk*, contrary to all the known Rules and Maxims of Martial Prudence, which Proportions the Strength to the Undertaking, to ascertain the Success and forecasts, in Case Things prosper, to secure and preserve them. This he did upon the Assurances the *Xerif* gave him, that as soon as ever the *Portuguese Forces* appear'd, the People would submit to him. But God permitted that most Christian Prince to be kill'd, the *Xerif* perishing with him; and their Armies to be routed, *Muley Moluc* the third Person remaining Victorious, tho' he also dy'd in the same Battel, and was bury'd in triumphant Manner. The Prodigies, and Fears of the wiser sort were verifi'd in the King of *Portugal*, and particularly that which happen'd before his Birth. It is certainly reported, that the Princess *Joanna* his Mother, one Night saw a great Number of *Moors* come into her Chamber, in the Palace at *Lisbon*, clad in several Colours; she believ'd or fancy'd they might be those they call *Monstros*, who are such as do the Duty of Guards in the Royal Apartment. Some went out to enquire, and found them all still, as hush'd as at other Times. The Princess seeing the imaginary *Moors* come in again, swoon'd away in her Ladies Arms. Afterwards at the proper Time, she was deliver'd of King *Sebastian*, whose singular Virtues, supported by the Loyalty of his Subjects, might have shin'd as bright as his natural Magnanimity, had not that hasten'd his End. That was mourn'd for and lamented by all Christendom, and brought Trouble to all its Princes, who began seriously to discourse about the Successor to the Crown of *Portugal*. There they presently swore *Henry*, the Prince Cardinal, Uncle to the late King, then Eighty Years of Age, and the last Lawful Male of that Royal House, which began in another of his Name. *Antony*, Prior of *Crato*, Son to Prince *Lewis*, pretended to succeed him, and tho' declar'd illegitimate, there was a Party that follow'd him. This Revolution, and the Hurry in such difficult Exigences, were the Occasion, that Care was not taken to supply other Places, much nearer than *Ternate*. Besides that dismal Accounts brought 5000 Leagues, tho' they were represented by *Demosthenes*, would come cold from his Mouth and scarce move the best dispos'd Prince, when never so much at Leisure; and King *Henry*, had no Power, but only his Zeal for Religion, to oppose the Tyranny practis'd in the *Archipelago* of the *Moluccos*. The Cardinal King thought all his Forces little enough, and necessary considering the extraordinary Jealousie he had conceiv'd, upon our King *Philip's* declaring himself a Pretender to those Kingdoms, and having order'd a considerable

King Sebastian
prepares for
the War in
Africk.

Is Kill'd
there.

Prodigy.

Henry the
Cardinal
King.

Army to make up to the frontiers, which he had drawn together during the said Cardinal's Life. The Generals were the Duke of *Alva*, and the Marquess de *Santa Cruz*, the first at Land, the other at Sea; and in the mean while the ablest Divines and Civilians of *Europe*, in all the Schools, and Parliaments writ concerning his Right.

First Eng-
lish Voyage
to the Mo-
luccos.

Sir Francis
Drake his
Voyage.

The Year before, being 1579, about the Beginning of it, Q. *Elizabeth* of *England*, seeing the Princes of *Europe*, particularly those in the Western Parts, make Warlike Preparations, as being divided in Opinions; form Leagues, and direct all their Designs towards the Kingdom of *Portugal*, she to make some Diversion with Security, had on a sudden fitted out four Ships, of eighteen Brass Guns each, and in them two hundred Men, and ten young Gentlemen, who besides employing their Valour, on such Occasions as it should offer, were to be very intent upon the Business of Navigation for greater Ends. She appointed *Francis Drake* of the County of *Devon* their Commander in Chief; who at his own, or at the Charge of *John Hawkins*, from whom he stole a great Quantity of Gold and Silver at *S. John de Ulva*, in the Year 1566, added some more Ships. He set sail from the Port of *Plymouth*, for the South Sea, and to find out that Streight of *Magellan*, scarce believed by the Vulgar, and declar'd by several Cosmographers. He promis'd to sail as much as might be to the Northward, and to take rich Prizes, infesting all those remote Seas, and to return Victorious into *England*, through the same Streight. This presumptuous Hope he grounded on his own Valour, on the Negligence of the *Spaniards*, who are intrusted with the Places of Strength; on our want of Ships; and above all on that Opportunity, or Season so full of sundry and extraordinary Commotions. He touch'd on the Coast of *Africk*, and refitted all his Ships at *Cape Bojador*. The *Moors* took two of his Men, and a *Portuguese* Ship pay'd for it, he robbing her at *Cabo Blanco* of an hundred Quintals, or hundred Weight of Bisket, besides much Fish, and many Arms. He touch'd at the Islands of *Cabo Verde*, where he took another small *Portuguese* Vessel, richly Laden with Wine, Cloth, Holland, and several other Commodities, with *Sylva*, the Pilot in it, who was well acquainted with those Seas, and better on the Coast of *Brazil*. But six or seven Days after the Vessel sunk, and not a Man was sav'd except only the said Pilot. Drake went on to the River of *Plate*, and Winter'd for some Months in *S. Julians* Bay, which is not well shelter'd, but expos'd to excessive cold Winds, in 50 Degrees of South Latitude, where he lost some Men.

Giants.

One *Thomas Haughton* rais'd a Mutiny there, in order to Debauch the Squadron, Drake laid hold of him, and struck off his Head. Here they saw eight *Indian* Giants to whom the tallest *Englishman* look'd like a Dwarf. They show'd their Bows and Arrows, and an *Englishman*, who valu'd himself upon his Dexterity at those Weapons, breaking the Peace establish'd with those People, let fly an Arrow at one of them, which pierced him through, and he dropt; the others in Revenge discharged theirs, and kill'd two of the *English*. The rest then assail'd the *Indians*, but they fled so swiftly that they seem'd not, to those *English* who saw and writ this, to set their Feet on the Ground. They departed thence, as soon as the North Winds they had expected began to blow, and holding on their Course to the Southward, in fifteen Days came to the Mouth of the Streight.

From

From thence to the second Narrowing they spent five Days, by reason of the Currents and Shoals; at a small distance from them they found no Bottom. They met with some Calms and Storms, and being come into the South-Sea had one which lasted forty Days, and in it lost some Ships. The Vice-Admiral return'd through the same Streight into *England*, where the Queen order'd him to be Hang'd for having forsaken his Admiral; but he was repriev'd till *Drakes* Return, and then Pardon'd, at his Request. He went on with only his own and some other Ships, but wanted not Men, Provisions, nor Ammunition, he took some belonging to private Persons, and the Kings, loaded with the Plate they were bringing for *Spain*, a Robbery of Drake great Consequence, not so much for the Quantity of the Treasure, as for takes the the Use it is apply'd to in our Monarchy, which is the Advancement of Kings the Catholick Church, and which thereby ceas'd, and deplorable for the Plate. unjust Abuses it was to be apply'd to in Scismatical Kingdoms. Having wander'd, Steering various Courses, in which his Pilots made their Observations by Sounding and their Charts, he touch'd at six Islands, to some whereof he gave Names, in Imitation of the fabulous Heroes, and even of true Catholicks, who assign such Names according to their particular Devotion. One he call'd *S. Bartholomew*, another *S. James*, and a third, which He gives Names to Islands. he thought larger and more fruitful, *New Albion*, from the Ancient Name of *England*, this is *California*. There he stay'd a Month and a half, refitting his Ships, and sailing thence to those call'd *de los Ladrones*, or of Thieves, in nine Degrees of North Latitude, kill'd 20 *Indians*, because they attack'd him with 100 *Canoas*. Twenty Days after, he came to an Anchor at the *Molucco* Islands, having before touch'd at others, without any Action Arrives at the Mo- worth remembering. His Cruelties, and Robberies might well gain him the Title of the greatest of Pyrates, in those remotest Parts, as he had it in luccos. *Europe*. He came to *Ternate*, but succeeded not at first, that People being War-like, and at that time Arm'd by their own Malice, and an implacable King. He attempted to barter for Clove, without his Leave, was inform'd how severely he handled such as Transgress'd, and slighting the Advice, the King came to hear of it, and order'd him to be Kill'd. It came very near the Execution; but *Drake*, whose Genius well experienced in Frauds was no Stranger to Dissimulation, retir'd to his Ships, to make his Escape by Flight. Thence he contriv'd to appease the King, which was no difficult Matter, by means of some Presents he sent him. With them he purchas'd the good Will, and an Audience of that cunning Tyrant, and going ashore several Times to visit him, agreed he should enter into Amity with the Queen, and Nation of *England*, and that Factories should be settled out of Hand. The King consented, and *Drake* promis'd him the Protection and Arms of *England*; and taking with him, among other Gifts, a rich Ring the King gave him for the Queen, he sail'd homewards, with a great quantity of Clove. He met a *Portuguese* Ship crossing the small Channel of *Tydore*, but either durst not, or thought not fit to attack her, whether it was for being Inferior in Strength, or out of a Desire of securing the new acquir'd Wealth. Scarce was he got clear of *Ternate*, before the Winds began to toss him, in that Sea full of Flats, whence they forc'd him, in order Is in a to deliver him quite up to Tempests. He was oblig'd to lighten his Ships, Storm, and among other Things of Value, threw over-Board a Cannon, of an extraordinary

traordinary Bigness, which the King of *Ternate*, hearing afterwards of the Storm, caused to be taken out of the deep Sea. Then he built a House before his Palace, on the Roof whereof he planted it openly, and pointing over, either on Account of its Magnitude, or by way of Ostentation, and in Memory of the first *Englishman*, that came into his Kingdoms, from whom and the Sea he had taken that new offensive Booty. Drake went on to the greater *Java*, where he laid in Provisions of *Cazabi*, *Plantans*, and *Flcul*, in exchange for Cloth. Next he put into another Island, in four Degrees of North Latitude, where he stay'd six Weeks. There he left a Woman, and two Men, all Blacks, that belong'd to him, giving them Fire, Rice, and some Grain, that they might People the Place. An Heroick Foundation of a Colony. Then he continu'd his Voyage, turning in and out to several Places, with unexpected Dammage to all those he touch'd at.

Reflection
of the Span-
ish Au-
thor.

It is to be observ'd, that it being positively believed in *Spain* and the *Indies*, that none had ever pass'd the Streights of *Magellan*, since the first Discoverer, except *F. Garcia de Loaysa*, and one of the Ships sent by *Don Gutierre de Vargas*, Bishop of *Palencia*, to the Spice-Islands, it was look'd upon as incredible, that any Pyrates were come into the South-Sea, especially through the Streight, and to the Islands of *Ternate*, and that *Archipelago*. This Man was the first that open'd the Passage to the Sectaries *Hugonots*, *Lutherans*, and *Calvinists*, who afterwards pierc'd into those Seas, with Ship Loads of perverted Texts, Heretical Bibles, and other Books of unsound Doctrine; but the Divine Providence has given Proofs, that it is so much Offended at this Hellish Innovation, tho' it permits Idolatry, and *Mahometanism*, that it has not suffer'd those Souls which through its profound Judgments, lie involv'd in the Shades and Darkness of Ignorance, to imbibe that Poyson, till it sent them the Gospel in its Purity. It has Oppos'd those new Apostacies making use of, as Instruments of *Spanish* Religious Men, giving Strength to our King, who protects them, his main Design being the Support of Religion. This Truth plainly appears in the many Victories the Church has obtain'd through his Officers, and the Armies maintain'd in the remotest Parts of the Monarchy, for the Propagation of the Faith preach'd to the most distant *Indians*.

Reason for
this Di-
gression.

But the better to demonstrate this true Forecast and Care, I think it a necessary Digression, so far from being superfluous, to relate the Preparations made by the Viceroy *Don Francisco de Toledo*, directing his Actions to this End, as became a Minister who follow'd his Princes Designs, in Order to secure himself against *Drake's* surprizing Celerity and Boldness; for as much of this as concerns the *Molucco* Islands, obliges us to write it, and we will slightly run over all the particular Passages.

Preparati-
ons of the
Viceroy.

The Viceroy of *Pern* was of Opinion, That in Order to secure the *Indies*, their Peace and Religion, and for the removing, at first, of all Obstacles to its Exaltation, and making Examples for a Warning, it was of the greatest Consequence to erect Forts, as divine and humane politick Precautions, and to Arm against that Pyrate, so to give a Check to the Northern Parts by his Punishment. To this Purpose, and in Order to his Destruction, a more exact Observation was to be taken of the Passes into the South-Sea, and more particularly of the Way he was to take, to return into his own Country. He was egg'd on by Fear, or the Loss of Reputation

tation, because some English Ships, Part of *Drake's* Squadron, ran along the Coasts of *Chile* and *Arica*, obliging the People to Arm; it being apprehended that *Drake* had erected Forts to secure the Passage, for carrying on the Trade of Spice and Jewels, and the bringing in of perverse Ministers with their poisonous Doctrines. For this Effect, he pitch'd upon *Peter Sarmiento de Gamboa*, a Gentleman of *Galicia*, who had twice already engag'd with that Pyrate. The first in the Port of *Callao* near *Lima*, where he took from him a *Spanish* Ship, laden with Commodities of *Spain*; the second a few Days after, pursuing him as far as *Panama*. The Viceroy resolv'd he should go to discover the Streights of *Magellan*, an Enterprize look'd upon as impracticable by the South Sea, by Reason of the many Mouths and Channels which obstruct the Access to it, where many Discoverers sent by the Governours of *Peru* and *Chile* have been lost. Others have attempted it, entering from the North Sea, and miss'd of the Streight; some were cast away, or beaten back by Storm, and all generally despair'd of finding it. But now that Terror being remov'd, they can take a fix'd Latitude, settle a Rumb, and steer a safe Course to the Streight, so to secure the Passage before an Enemy possesses himself of it. The Viceroy made Choice of two Ships, which he took Care to see well rigg'd, arm'd and provided. *Sarmiento* call'd the Bigger, *Our Lady of Hope*, which was Commodore; the other being subordinate, had the Name of *S. Francis*. Two Hundred Seamen and Soldiers were put into them, with virtuous and learned Religious Men, fit for that Employ. Captain *John de Villalobos* was appointed Vice-Admiral. *Ferdinand Lamerero* Head Pilot, and under him *Ferdinand Alonso* and *Antony Pablo*, all of them very able Pilots in both Seas. These took an Oath of Fidelity, and the Viceroy gave the Admiral particular Instructions, the Purport whereof was, That they should pursue the Pyrate, fight him till taken or kill'd, and recover the great Booty he had taken upon the King's Lands and Ships, whatsoever the Hazard might be, since they had sufficient Men, Arms and Ammunition to overcome the Enemy. That they should sail into 50 or 54 Degrees of South Latitude, as might be most Advantageous, about the Mouth of the Streights of *Magellan*. That both Ships should have Lights out at Night, that so they might not lose Sight of one another in the Dark, but always keep together. He charg'd them to be unanimous in their Consultations, particularly the two Commanders; which Direction was not so well observ'd, as it ought to have been, thro' the Vice-Admiral's Fault. They were commanded to lay down the Ports, and Seas in exact Draughts. To take Possession of any Country they landed on for his Majesty. When they met with any Towns of *Indians*, to mollify and endear them by discreet Courtesy, and gain their Affections with such Gifts, as should for that Purpose be deliver'd to the Commodore, being Siffars, Combs, Knives, Fishing-Hooks, Buttons of several Colours, Looking-Glasses, Hawks-Bells, Glass-Beads, &c. To carry with them some *Indians* to serve for Interpreters; and so provided discreetly for all other material Points. Then to encourage them he made a Speech, intermixing it with Hopes and Exhortations. The Commodore having conferr'd with his Vice-Admiral and Pilots, concerning the Design of their Voyage; they agreed, That if any Stress of Weather should happen to part the

Difficultie of the Streight of Magellan.

Sarmiento sent after Drake with two Ships.

His Instructions.

one

one Ship from the other, they should carefully seek one another out, or make the Mouth of the Streight in the South-Sea to the Westward, there to wait for one another. The next Day being *Sunday*, the 11th of *October*, 1579. when they had all confess'd and receiv'd the Holy Eucharist, they embark'd in order to introduce the Faith into those Nations void of all Worship. On Board the *Capitana*, or greater Ship, the General, or Commodore *Sarmiento*, *F. Antony de Guadramiro*, of the Order of *S. Francis*, and Vicar-General of this Expedition; the Ensign *John Gutierrez de Guevara*, *Antony Pablos*, and *Ferdinand Alonso*, Pilots, with 54 Soldiers. In the other Ship, with *John de Villalobos*, *F. Christopher de Merida*, of the said Order of *S. Francis*, *Ferdinand Lamero*, chief Pilot of that Ship, with whom, and the Seamen and Soldiers, they made 54; and the whole Number in both Vessels as was said above.

*His
Strength.*

His Voyage

*His Care
and Capa-
city.*

*Land at
the Mouth
of the
Streights.*

They sail'd from the Port of *Callao*, belonging to the City of *Lima*, and that Night came to an Anchor at the Island, two Leagues from *Callao*, in 12 Degrees and a half of South Latitude. On the first of *November* they pass'd in Sight of those they call Unfortunate, in 25 Degrees, 20 Minutes, which were accidentally discover'd by the Pilot *John Fernandez*, being bound for *Chile* the second Time, immediately after *Magellan's* Discovery, since the Year 1520. They are now call'd, the Islands of *S. Felix*, and *S. Ambor*. Here *Sarmiento* observ'd the Difference, betwixt this Course, which he calls the True one, and the Imaginary. This he noted down with extraordinary Curiosity, employing all the Care and Art of his Pilots, and his own, which was not inferior to theirs, nor to others in any Martial Knowledge, as will appear by his Treatises, if publish'd, of Navigation, casting great Guns and Bullets, Fortification, and Knowledge in Astronomy, for sailing in all Seas. They never quitted the Lead, the Astrolabe, and the Charts, either in the Deep, in Ports, Bays, or among Mountains, and Currents, which produc'd a very ample Relation he sent to King *Philip*, whence we took this Abridgement. There he sets down the Points in the Heaven answering to the Earth, the Dangers, Islands, Promontories and Gulphs, Geographically and Corographically. He lays down the Rumbs that are to be follow'd, and those to be avoided; and thus distinctly leads us into and thro' the Streight, giving visible Signs, and also invisible of the Winds for all Ports. At the first unknown Land, where he anchor'd, they found the Latitude to be 49 Degrees and a half South. They saw no People, but Tokens of them, as the Prints of Mens Feet, Darts, Oars, and little Nets. They climb'd up vast high Mountains, above two Leagues in the Ascent, over Stones, some of them so sharp, that they cut their Shoes. Others, to avoid them, made their Way on the Boughs of Trees. From the Top they discover'd great Channels, Inlets, Rivers and Harbours, and all the Land as far as their Sight could reach, seem'd to them cut and rent asunder. They judg'd it to be an *Archipelago*. It is to be observ'd, that our Discoverers give the Name of *Archipelagos*, to Seas in the New Word, which are strew'd thick with Islands, as it were great Stones, like the *Archipelago* of *Greece*, so well known to all Nations in the *Egean* Sea, which contains the *Cyclades*, tho' the Name is not ancient. They perceiv'd the Channel to run on, Wide, Spacious, Open and Clean; and were satisfi'd that *Drake* came out that Way

Way into the South Sea. They found the Latitude by three *Astrolabes* to be 50 Degrees. The Harbour they call'd of, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, and the Island of the most Holy Trinity.

The next *Sunday*, *Sarmiento* order'd all the Men to land, in order to take Possession, and perform'd all that is contain'd in the Authentick Instrument of what happen'd that Day, the expresse Words whereof are thus, *Sarmiento takes Possession of the Land.*

The Form of it.

' In the Name of the most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons, and one only God, who is the Beginning, Maker and Creator of all Things; without whom nothing that is Good can be done, began, or preserv'd. And in regard that a good Beginning must be in God, and through God, and in him it is requisite to begin, to his Honour and Glory, and in his most Holy Name, Be it known to all those who shall see this Instrument, that this Day, being *Sunday* the 22d of *November*, 1579. this Royal Navy of the Mighty Renowned Lord, King *Philip* of *Spain*, and its other Dominions, my Sovereign, being arriv'd in this Country by Order of the most Excellent Lord, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, Viceroy, Governour, and Captain General of *Peru*, to discover the Streight of *Magellan*, under the Command of the General *Peter Sarmiento*, the Land by him nam'd, *Our Lady of the Rosary*, and the Bay of, *The most Holy Trinity*. The said Lord General having landed with most of the Sea and Landmen belonging to his Navy, and the Religious Men, he brought ashore a Cross, which he devoutly worshipp'd, with all his Men. The Religious Men sang the Hymn *Te Deum laudamus*, and he with a loud Voice, said, That in the Name of his Majesty *Philip* the Second, our Lord, King of *Castile* and *Aragon*, and their Dependencies, whom our Lord God long preserve, with the Addition of greater Kingdoms and Dominions, for the Glory of God, and Good and Prosperity of his Subjects; and in the Name of the most Potent Kings his Heirs and Successors for the Time being; he, as his Commander in chief, and Admiral of this same Navy, and by Virtue of the Order and Instructions given him in his Majesty's Royal Name, by the said Lord Viceroy of *Peru*, took, did take, seiz'd, and did seize the Possession of this Land on which he is now ashore, and which he has discover'd for evermore, in the said Royal Name, and of the said Crown of *Castile* and *Leon*, as has been said, as being his own, and really belonging to him, by Virtue of the Donation and Gift the Holy Father *Alexander* the Sixth, Pope of *Rome*, pass'd *Motu proprio*, in Favour of their Catholick Majesties *Ferdinand* the Fifth, and *Isabel* his Wife, King and Queen of *Castile* and *Leon* of glorious Memory, and to their Heirs and Successors, of the one half of the World, being 180 Degrees of Longitude, as is more fully contain'd in the said Bull, dated at *Rome*, on the 4th of *May*, 1493. By Virtue whereof, these said Lands fall, lye, and are included within the Limits and Meridian of the said Partition of 180 Degrees of Longitude, belonging to the said Royal Crown of *Castile* and *Leon*. And as such he takes, and did take Possession of these said Lands, and their Territories, Seas, Rivers, Creeks, Ports, Bays, Gulphs, *Archipelagos*, and of this said Harbour of the *Rosary*, where at present this Navy is at Anchor. And he sub-

jects,

jects, and did subject them to the Power, Possession and Dominion of the said Royal Crown, as has been said, as being their own Property. And in Token of Possession, or as it were, drawing the Sword he had by his Side, with it he cut Trees, Branches, and Grass, and remov'd Stones, and walk'd over the Fields and Shores, without any Opposition; requiring such as were present to be Witnesses thereof, and me the under-written Notary, to give him a Testimonial thereof in publick Form. And immediately, taking up a great Cross, and the Men belonging to the Navy being drawn up in martial Manner, with Muskets and other Arms, they carry'd the Cross in Procession, the Religious Men, *F. Antony de Guadramiro*, the Vicar and his Companion, singing the Litany, and all the others answering. And the said Procession being ended, the said Lord General planted the Cross on a hard Rock, and rais'd a heap of Stones at the Foot of the Cross, in Token, and as a Memorial of Possession of all the Lands and Seas, discover'd, adjacent, and contiguous. And he gave the Name of *Our Lady of the Rosary* to this Port, as has been said. And as soon as the Cross was set up, they worshipp'd it a second Time; and they all pray'd, beseeching and intreating our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*, would be pleas'd that what they did might be for his Glory, and to the End that our Holy Catholick Faith might be exalted and dilated, and the Holy Gospel preach'd and spread abroad among these barbarous Nations, which have hitherto been remote from the true Knowledge and Doctrine; that it may defend and deliver them from the Frauds and Dangers of the Devil, and from the Blindness they are in, that their Souls may be sav'd. And then the Religious Men sung in Honour of the Cross, the Hymn *Vexilla Regis*. Next the Father Vicar said Mass on an Altar there erected, being the first that was ever said in that Country, to the Honour and Glory of our Almighty Lord God, and for the Extirpation of the Devil and all Idolatry. And he preach'd to that Purpose, and some confess'd and communicated. And as soon as the Mass was said, the General, for a more absolute Token and Memorial of Possession, caus'd a large Tree to be trimm'd, and on it caus'd a very high Cross to be made, and on it plac'd the most Holy Name of our Lord *JESUS CHRIST*. *J. N. R. I.* And under it, *Philippus Secundus Rex Hispaniarum*. Of all which, I *John de Esquivel*, Royal Secretary to this Navy and Admiral Ship, do give Affidavit and true Testimony, that it was so done as is said. Then follows *Esquivel's* Subscription.

Sarmiento
gives
Names to
Places.

Four Days after, *Sarmiento*, in the Vice-Admiral's Boat, with the Pilots, *Pablos* and *Lamero*, and ten Sailors and Soldiers, with Muskets, Bucklers and Swords, and four Days Provision, set out of this Port to discover the Channels they saw, that they might not endanger the Ships. Going out by the Ridges of Rocks, he run along the Gulph, close to the Shore, all which he observ'd, and sounded the Harbours, giving Names to them and the Mountains, according to their Shapes, such as *Sugar-Loaves*, *Pitchers*, *Guinea Peppers*, and the like. He observ'd the Trees, the Plants and the Birds. At one Place on the Shore he found several Tracts of People, and two Poniards or such Weapons made of Bone, with a Cross on the Handles, near a small Stream of fresh Water, whose Sands

Sands are Red, and therefore he call'd it the *Red-River*, which falls into a Harbour, and that also took the same Name. They saw abundance of Fish, and among the Shells thrown up by the Sea, vast Quantities of Oysters and Mussels, and in those that were left upon the Rocks above the Water, great and small Pearls, some Grey, others White. This Sort of Fish, at certain Times, the Shells being first open, gape with their Mouths, and receive the pure and substantial Dew, which, as it were, impregnates them with Pearls, which are in Colour answerable to the Nature of the Dew. If they receive it pure, they produce them white; if disturb'd, they are of a Dark, or other Muddy Colours. *Sarmiento* describes the Vexation that tormented him and his Men; for being eager to satisfy their Hunger with Oysters and Mussels, and they being unfit to Eat, because of the Hardness of those Pearls they found in them, they threw them away, cursing the Inventors of putting a Value on those Productions, or Hornynesses of Fishes, which Nature had trebly hid in the Waters of the Sea, in Shells, and in the Fish it self. They said, that true Wealth consisted in tame Cattle, Fruit, and Corn brought up by Tillage, as they had in *Spain*; for that precious Obstacle to feeding, then not valu'd, depriving them of the Sustenance of the Shell-Fish, and being forc'd to live ten Days on the Provision they brought for four, the Fast made them all Philosophers. From this Red Harbour, he was obliged to return to the Ships left in that of the *Rosary*, no Day passing without violent Storms; when they had run backward, and forward, above 70 Leagues, landing on Islands, and taking Possession of them. They were Fruitful and Habitable, but till then Untill'd and Desert. From a very high Hill, he discover'd the main Chanel, which runs out into the great Ocean, and so many other Channels and small Islands, that they could not be reckon'd up in a long Time. Whilst he staid, he founded Harbours, Deepes, Channels, Creeks, Inlets, Flats, Roads and Bays, making Draughts of, and giving them Names. He settled the Latitude, and certain Course to be steer'd, in the Presence, and with the Opinion of the Pilots, Seamen, and Soldiers, in order to reconcile those disagreeing Persons by examining all that were present.

Pearls despoil'd for Hunger.

Here the Vice-Admiral began to cavil, saying, They were imbay'd, and that it was impossible to hold on their Voyage that Way; and would have quitted his Admiral, as he did afterwards. From *Red-Port* they held on their Course, trying those in other Islands. *Sarmiento* came to a Bay, which he call'd *S. Francis's*, where, as they were taking their Station, a Soldier fired a Piece at some Birds, and in Answer to the Gun, certain *Indians*, near a Mountain, on the other Side of the Bay, gave horrid Shouts. By the first Noise, the *Spaniards* thought it had been made by Sea-Wolves, till they discover'd the naked Red Bodies. They afterwards found the Reason of that Colour, for they daub'd themselves from the Head to the Feet with a glutinous Red-Earth. *Sarmiento* took some of his Company into a Boat, and coming to a Thicket, found them in the closest of the Trees, without any other Cloathing but that Clay as Red as Blood. Only one old Man, who talk'd to, and commanded, and was obey'd by them, appear'd cover'd with a Cloak of the Skins of Sea Wolves. Fifteen Youths came out upon the open Shore, near the Sea, and drawing near, with peaceable Demonstrations, very earnestly pointing,

Vice-Admiral disagrees with Sarmiento.

Painted Indians.

lifting up their Hands towards the Place where the Ships remain'd. The *Spaniards* did the same. The *Indians* came close, and *Sarmiento* giving them two Towels and a Night-cap, for he had nothing else then, and the Pilots some other Trifles, they were well pleas'd. They gave them Wine, which they tasted and then threw away. They eat of the Bisket, but all this did not satisfy them; for which Reason, and because they were on an open Shore, in Danger of losing the Boat, they return'd to their Station, making Signs to the *Indians* to go to the Boat. They did so, and *Sarmiento* posted two Sentinels for the more Security, then forcibly seiz'd one of the *Indians* for an Interpreter, put him into his Boat, embrac'd him lovingly, cloath'd and fed him. This Place he call'd, *The Point of People*, as being the first where he found any. Thence he proceeded to Three small Islands, lying in a Triangle, and lay there. They went on, taking Draughts of the Lands, and being before a very craggy Country, the *Indian* who had never ceas'd shedding Tears, throwing off a Shirt they had put him on, leap'd over-board, and swam away. They held on their Way, quite weary of seeing so many Islands, containing strange Productions of Nature, but without any Inhabitants. Only in one of them, which they call'd, *The Cleft Rock*, near a deep Cave, they found much Tract of Men's Feet, and the whole Skeleton of a Man or Woman. They went on thence with Storms through incredible Solitudes, which it would be too much to describe, tho' our Design were to treat only of this Voyage. At another Land, where they arriv'd full of Uncertainty, as it were by Accident, in the Bay they call'd, *Our Lady of Guadalupe*, thinking to discover whether one Channel ran to the East, and another to the North; they saw a *Piragua*, being a Vessel made of Planks put together, without any Sides, and sometimes of Rushes, and of *Calabashes*, and properly a Float, coming along on the Water, and in it five *Indians*, who getting to the Shore, left the *Piragua*, and ran up a Mountain in a Consternation. The Pilot went into the *Piragua*, with four Soldiers, and the Boat proceeded further.

A *Piragua*.

A Cottage
and what
in it.

Coming to another Point, where they thought there were more People, they only found a low round Cottage, made of Poles, and cover'd with broad Barks of Trees, and the Skins of Sea-Wolves. In it were little Baskets, Shell-Fish, small Nets, and Bones for Sticking of Fish, like Harping Irons, and Srips full of that Red Earth wherewith they dye their Bodies, instead of Cloaths. This is all the Gayity and Habit they use, instead of the Gold and Silks worn in the Courts of Princes. *Sarmiento* left the *Piragua*, and return'd to the Ships with only the Boat, because his Provisions were spent. In this small Vessel, and a Brigantine, he found newly built by his Company, whilst they were viewing those most desert Islands, with the Advice of the Vice-Admiral, he went from the *Red Harbour*, and finding no other safe for the Ships, return'd to the same. Then in the Boat call'd *Nuestra Senora de Guia*, or *Our Lady of the Guide*, he went away to make Tryal of the Mouth which appear'd to the Eastward under a mighty long Ridge of Snowy Mountains, so various, that they saw some Tops cover'd with white, others with blew, and others with black Snow. *Sarmiento* calls that the Continent. There is no Number of the Islands he took Possession of, and those he discover'd, being inaccessible in other *Archipelagos*, from the Top of a Mountain rising above those

Snow of
several
Colours.

those about it, and cover'd with blew Snow, which he compares to the Colour of the *Turky Stones*. This Height he call'd *Anno Nuevo*, that is, *New Year*, because he found it on the first Day of the Year, 1580. He left no Saints Name, or the Resemblance of any natural Thing, but what he apply'd to distinguish those Islands he touch'd at, erecting Crosses on them all, and writing as he did in the first. He saw Men, only in these here mention'd.

He ran again in his Boat through those Seas, where Nature seem'd to set up new Islands every Day; and Anchor'd in a Harbour, where, among Sarmiento's other Precautions for Navigation, he drew a Meridian Line on the Earth, to's *Indians* and mark'd the Magnetick Needles, refreshing them by touching again, *stry*. because they had receiv'd some Damage by the Storms and Damps. How weak a Guide have Men for mighty Enterprizes! He prosecuted his Discovery of little Islands, and taking Possession; and observ'd an Eclipse for the Benefit of Navigation, in the Port of *Misericordia*, or *Mercy*, as he nam'd it. The Vice-Admiral not coming to him, he suppos'd he was return'd to *Lima*, however he waited for him ten Days, and five more in another newly discover'd, and call'd, *Nuestra Senora de la Candelaria*, or *Our Lady of Candelmas*, three Leagues from the other. This Time having been agreed upon between them to expect one another, which when expir'd, each was to make the best of his Way into *Spain*; *Sarmiento* being positive, contrary to the Opinion of the Pilots, that there was the Streight of *Magellan*.

On *St. Agnes's Day* he Anchor'd at the Island which forms that Harbour, for which Reason he gave it that Saint's Name. From the Ridge of a Hill, which hangs bending like a Bow over a River, he perceiv'd five Native *Indians*, who with Cries and Signs desired him to come to them; the *Spaniards* answering them in the same Manner, the *Indians* held up a white Scarf, and our Men another. When they were come down to the Shore, they seem'd to request they would draw near. *Sarmiento* sent them his Ensign, and the Pilot *Ferdinand Alonso*, with only four Men, that they might not fear; however they durst not come near the Boat. One of our Men went ashore, and yet they would not trust him, yet drawing nearer because he was alone, he gave them *Chaquiras*, that is, Glass-Beads, Hawks-Bells, Combs, Ear-Rings, and Hempen-Cloth. Observe what mighty Designs were couch'd under those Childish Gifts. Then the Ensign and Pilot came ashore, cherishing and giving them other Toys, and show'd them what every Thing was for, by applying it to the Use before them. This pleas'd them extreamly, as did some little Linnen Flags, or Bannors, our Men carry'd, made of narrow Slips of *French Linnen*, *Canvas*, and *Silefia Cloth*. This made *Sarmiento* judge that they had before seen *Europeans*, and they, without being ask'd, signify'd by intelligible Tokens, that two Ships like ours had pass'd that Way, or were still thereabouts, pointing to the South East, and in them bearded Men, clad and arm'd after the same Manner. This was the first Intelligence they found of the *English Ships* under *Drake*. The *Indians* with smiling Countenances promis'd to come again. They went up the Land, and our Men aboard the Ship, which not being far off, *Sarmiento* came ashore to take Possession, with the usual Religious and Civil Ceremony.

The next Day the Ensign and *Ferdinand Alonso* were with six Soldiers by break of Day in the Harbour, carrying a considerable Quantity of Toys, to

Indians by Signs show that Drake pass'd that Way.

Spaniards
catch three
Indians.

gain the Affections of the Natives, who came also; but would not draw near our Men. They made the same Signs they had the Day before. The *Spaniards* to be better inform'd of what Course the *English* Steer'd, ran at the *Indians*, and took three of them, every two Soldiers holding one of them, and tho' they gave our Men many Blows and Bangs, struggling to get loose, they could not prevail, and yet were very strong. The *Spaniards* put up all that they might get them to the Ship, where *Sarmiento* receiv'd, and treated them Courteously. They Eat and Drank, and Kindness so far prevail'd, that they laid aside all Fear, and Laugh'd. Being show'd the narrow Slips of Linnen, they pointed with their Hands to a Bay, where the Ships had Anchor'd, with the bearded People, who had Arrows, and Partesans. One of them show'd two, and another one Wound they had receiv'd fighting against the Men of that Fleet.

Vice-Ad-
miral re-
turns to
Chile.

The Vice-Admiral was now gone back to *Chile*, and among other Accidents which happen'd in his Return, he was wont to tell, that being come to the Island *Mocha*, he sent his Boat thither to ask some supply of Provisions, and understanding how Friendly they behav'd themselves towards *Drake*, and that the Hatred those People bear the *Spaniards* might be an Obstacle to him, his Messengers, by Order, conceal'd their being such, pretending they were *Lutherans*. The Islanders gave Credit to the Fiction, being desirous to gain Friends, for preserving of their Liberty. Accordingly they sent them Flesh, Bread, and Fruit, with a Letter, in answer to theirs, the Superscription thereof in *English* run thus, *To the very Magnificent Lords, the Lutherans, in the South Sea*. Our Men answer'd, That since they had supplied them with such plenty of Provisions, they desir'd they would come and partake. About 30 of the Prime *Caciques* accepted of the Invitation, and came very Joyfully, in a *Canoe*, to our Ship. No sooner were they Aboard, than the Vice-Admiral, not regarding their Complaints, gave order to loose the Sails, which were ready, and carry'd them away Prisoners to *Chile*. Some things that befell him, might justify his deserting his Superior, but they must be left to those who write a particular History of those Actions.

He de-
ceives the
Indians.

To return to *Sarmiento*. In the aforesaid Port of *Candelaria*, or *Candlemass*, the Pilots press'd him hard, with Intreaties and Protestations, to do as his Vice-Admiral had done, representing how much his Men were harass'd, and his Ship disabled, and that he had done more than all the Discoverers before him. That they wanted Anchors, Cables, and Rigging; that the Winds oppos'd him, without which it was impossible to proceed. This was a Dangerous Tryal, because amidst the Complaints, and almost Threats of the Pilots, there was a mixture of Flattery, commending him, for that no other Discoverer had ventur'd so far; so that *Sarmiento* was no less mov'd by their Praises than by their Anger. However he bore up against both, and severely check'd the Pilots: Who knows but he might conceal the same Fears they urg'd? And in short, he appear'd so Resolute against all they could say, that he brought them to his Beck. He sail'd thence, keeping the Channel, and about a League to the South-East, the *Indians* show'd him the way the Bearded Men took, of whom, after killing many, they, as was afterwards known, sav'd one *Catherine*, and a Boy, both *English*, who still liv'd among those wild Beasts, which they were more like than Rational Creatures. Somewhat farther in another Island, which the *Indians* said was call'd *Puchachailgua*, full of extraordinary high grey Rocks, the bearded

Sarmiento
press'd to
go back.

He is reso-
lute, and
goes on.

Account of
Drake's
Passage.

bearded Men again fought the Natives without Success. They went on to another Island Nam'd *Capitloilgua*, on the Coast call'd *Cayrayxaxiilgua*. *Sarmiento* did not change the Ancient Names of Countries, when he could learn them. They were sufficiently dismay'd in the next they came at, thinking they were Imbay'd; but presently after they took Heart again, at the Sight of the Channel, which begins at the Mouth call'd *Xaultegua*, and it widen'd, bringing them out to a most spacious Sea, full of thousands of Islands. Passing by, in Sight of one of them, they perceiv'd high Smokes; and the Captive *Indians* began to Weep, and they saw it was for Fear of the Natives, expressing that they were Giants, and fought desperately. Our Men encourag'd them, giving them to understand that they should be able to deal with those People. They went ashore on that Country, which is call'd *Tinquichisgua*. *Sarmiento* alter'd it, in Honour of the Cross he erected there, calling it, the Island of the Cross. There he saw Abundance of Whales, Wolves, and other Sea-Monsters, and great Clods of Snow, on the Waves. He made ready his Cannon, and small Arms, providing against both Pirates and Natives, for he expected to find the *English* possessed of the Land. From that Time he stood upon his Guard, and no Man quitted his Arms. They went on to a third Island, which is the biggest, heard Humane Voices, and saw some *Piraguas*, with the People that cry'd out, who were crossing from one Island to another. Our Men drew near in the Boat to take a View, and all of them put into a clean Harbour, whence they discover'd a Town, not Barbarous, but Decent and Lofty, like ours in *Europe*, and abundance of People, who having sunk the *Piraguas*, and standing on the Mountains, with their Arms in their Hands, call'd to our Men from a Wood, to Land, as ours did them to draw near the Sea. Among the Trees appear'd many more of those Islanders, with Bows and Arrows, as if they intended to fall on. This made our Men discharge some Muskets at them, the Noise whereof so terrify'd the *Indian* Women, that they set up hideous Shrieks, and therefore the *Spaniards* forbore Firing, for fear of losing all hopes of gaining their Affections. By this time the Ship which had been Cruizing up and down, came into the Harbour. *Sarmiento* made a Gun ready, and the Boat came Aboard, Towing a *Piragua* after it. Having writ the Instrument of Possession, tho' he had not inquir'd into the Government of the Inhabitants of that great Town, he Landed on the Shore, whence is discover'd a vast high Mountain, all white with aged Snow, and encompass'd with Rocks. Ancient Relations call'd it *Orlanro's* Bell, he being one of *Magellan's* Companions. He Sail'd on to 54 Degrees Latitude, at the Point he call'd of *S. Isidorus*. Near to it the Natives call'd out to him, and coming up to our Men, Embrac'd them familiarly. *Sarmiento*, besides Hawks-Bels, and other Toys, sent them Bisket and Flesh from the Ships. They sat down to Converse, by Signs, with the Ensign, the Pilot, and Eight other Christians, signifying, that they were pleas'd with their Friendship, and those rich Gifts; and gave such confuse Tokens of the *English* having pass'd that way, as the others had done. Then they return'd to their Huts, and the Admiral having taken Possession, and found the Latitude to be 53 Degrees, and 40 Minutes, advanc'd in sight of the Coast, which eight Leagues from thence lies flat with the Sea, and forms a Shore of white Sand. Before he came to it he Discover'd a prodigious high burning Mountain, cover'd with Snow; where the Fire and

Several Islands.

Populous Islands.

Traffable Indians.

the Snow seem, out of natural Courtesy, to Respect one another, and to confine within themselves their Force, and Effects; for neither is the one Quench'd, nor the other Melted by their near Neighbourhood. The Channel carry'd him to the Point he call'd of *S. Anne*, in 53 Degrees and a half of Latitude. He took possession, and rais'd a heap of Stones, at the Foot of a Cross, and left a Letter written with Charcole-Dust, which he thought incorruptible, in the Shards of an Earthen Vessel, well Pitch'd, among those Stones. In it he declared to all Nations, That those Lands and Seas belong'd to the King of *Spain*, and by what Title he held them. In the same Letter, he left Orders for his Vice-Admiral, to return to *Peru*, and give the Viceroy an Account of all that happen'd, till they discover'd the Streight.

Indian Presents.

The Ship steer'd off with the Ebb, and the *Indians* when it was gone came down with their Wives and Children, and a Present of great pieces of Sea Wolves, stinking Meat, Sea Foul, call'd *Minnos*, which are White and Yellowish, *Murtina*, a sort of Fruit like Cherries, and bits of Flint, bor'd through and Painted, in a small Box of Gold and Silver. Being ask'd, what that was for, and they answering, *To strike Fire*, one of them took some Feathers he brought, and with them lighted it, as if it were Tinder. A little before, when our Men made a Fire to melt the Pitch, for securing the Vessel the Letter was in, which was left stopp'd at the Foot of the Cross, the Flame spread upon the Mountain, and rais'd a Smoke. The *Indians* believing they were Fires made by those so much dreaded Enemies of theirs, went away and could not be stopp'd by any means; nor was their Fear groundless, for they answer'd immediatly in the opposite Island, with great Smokes. The River which falls into the Sea at the Point *Sarmiento* call'd *S. John's*; and the Streight dividing these Islands, which is the very Old one of *Magellan*, look'd and sought after with so much Danger, he nam'd of *The Mother of God*, changing its first Appellation, that through this Devotion she may obtain of her Son the Salvation of those numberless Provinces, extending the Voice of his Gospel to them, that it might reach the Ears of so many Souls, most of which are Ignorant of their own Immortality, without knowing any more than common Nature has taught them.

Possession taken.

Sarmiento was so well pleas'd with having thus express'd his Devotion, that when he return'd to *Spain*, he intreated the King, to direct that Streight to be generally so call'd, and his Majesties Orders. The Possession of this so remarkable Place was taken with extraordinary Joy, inserting in the Instrument the Clause of Pope *Alexander* the 6th's Bull, the Title that gives the Kings of *Castile*, and the Limits assigned by the Line he drew through both the Poles of the World, as Gods Vicar. *F. Guadramiro* said Mass, and they all heard it devoutly, considering it was the first offer'd up in that Place by Man to his Creator. It was intended as a Thanksgiving, and they all took Courage to undertake any difficult Enterprize. They saw the Track of Tigers, and Lions, and also White and Grey Parrots, with Red Heads; and they heard the sweet Notes of Goldfinches, and other Birds. Holding on their Course along the Channel, with excessive hot Weather, they came into a Bay, that was cover'd with white Weeds, and Anchor'd at the Point, on which a Company of Giants immediatly appear'd, who call'd out to them, lifting up their Hands Unarm'd; our Men imitated their Actions, which denoted Peace on both sides. They being come to the Boat, which was Guarded by ten Musketeers, the Ensign leap'd Ashore, with

with four others. The Giants made Signs to him to lay down his Leading-Staff, and then they withdrew, to the place where they had hid their Bows and Arrows. The Ensign did as they directed, and then shew'd them the Toys and Gifts he design'd for them. This withheld them, but still they were jealous, wherefore our Men supposing their jealousy proceeded from what they had suffer'd before, and guessing they had receiv'd some damage from the *English* Pyrate, to be the better inform'd of it, ten of our Men fell upon one of the Giants, whom they took; but had enough to do to secure him. The others running to their Arms, return'd so quick upon the *Spaniards*, that they had scarce time to get into their Boat. They shot their Arrows, which flying thick, and our Men taking care to avoid them, they dropt two Muskets. The Steward of the Ship was shot in the Eye with an Arrow. The *Indian* they took was a Giant even among the other Giants, and the Relation says, he look'd to them like one of the *Cyclops*. Other Relations assure us, each of these Giants is above three Yards high, and they are proportionably spread and brawny. Being brought into the Ship, he was extraordinary melancholy, and tho' they offer'd him the best they had to Eat, he would take nothing all that Day. They set Sail, crossing Channels, and passing by Islands, in most of which they saluted them with Smokes. In the narrowest Part, which they call'd of *Our Lady of Grace*, through which they must pass of Necessity, and is in 53 Degrees and a half Latitude, *Sarmiento* was of Opinion, Forts might be erected on the two Capes to secure the Passage. They made haste thro' it, and again saw the Natives on another Point of Land, calling out, and shaking their Cloaks, or Woolly Blankets. *Sarmiento* went to them with eighteen Soldiers, Only four *Indians* appear'd with Bows and Arrows, and making Signs of Peace with their Hands, said, *Xiitote*, which, as was afterwards known, signifies Brothers. They posted themselves on a rising Ground, and when the *Spaniards* were landed, made Signs to them for one of our Men to come to them. One went unarm'd, with some Gifts, as Glafs-Beads, Hawks-Bels and Combs, which they receiv'd pointing to him to go down again. He did so, and the Ensign went up in his stead, obliging them with other Presents. They accepted of them, and yet neither they, nor any Courtesie could dispel their jealousy. *Sarmiento* left them, to avoid provoking them, and going up the Mountain another way, to view the Ridge, Plains, and Channels, the four Archers appear'd before him, and without any Provocation receiv'd, but on the contrary after receiving the aforesaid Gifts, they furiously assaulted our Men, wounding the General with two Arrows in the Side, and betwixt his Eyes; and another Soldier had an Eye put out. The rest of the *Spaniards* covering themselves with their Bucklers ran at them, but the Giants fled up the Country so swiftly, that a Musket Ball would scarce over-take them. This Action seems to verifie the Cowardice the Authors of Fabulous Books, commonly call'd *Romances*, ascribe to their Giants. *Sarmiento* view'd the Land, call'd it *Nuestra Senora del Valle*, or *Our Lady of the Vale*, discovering betwixt two spacious Ridges, some delightful Plains, numerous Towns, lofty Buildings, Towers and Pinacles, and to his Thought sumptuous Temples of so Majestick an Appearance, that he scarce believ'd his own Eyes, and judg'd it an imaginary City.

*A Giant
Taken.*

*Other
Indians.*

The End of the Third Book.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. IV.

*Reasons
for Di-
gessions.*

TH E S E Endeavours us'd by *Spain* to shut out the Monsters of Heresy, dispell'd the Dread spread abroad by *Drake*, and his Example in the North and South Seas. And since his coming to *Ternate*, oblig'd us to write all these Particulars, we could not, once they began to have any Place in this Relation, forbear making it perfect by delivering the Success of them. A compleat History is the Witness of Times, the Light of Truth, the Life of Memory, and in fine the Mistress of Life. Therefore, to perform the Duty incumbent on it from such important Employments, it is not to spare any notable Digressions; especially when they deviate but little from the main Subject, and have some Connexion with it. This here is due to a most prudent Action of King *Philip* II. and his Ministers; and shows his Catholick Indignation against Sectaries, and his Zeal for preserving the Faithful of his *Indies* untainted, and improving the Disposition in the Souls of Idolaters, towards drawing them to the Faith. It demonstrates how he compass'd the whole World by Means of his Commanders, that he might introduce the said Faith in all Corners thereof; to the Reputation of his Watchfulness in the Service of this Mistical Empire, which is now Militant, in order to its being Triumphant. For this Reason it is absolutely Necessary, not to conceal *Sarmiento's* Resolution, nor to leave him in those remote Seas, till we have brought him back to *Spain*, and then we will return to the *Molucco* Islands, which were in the mean while busy about their own Destruction.

Sarmiento

Sarmiento did not go up to the great City he discover'd at a Distance, because he would not depart from his Ship, to which he return'd, leaving us still desirous to be thoroughly satisfi'd of so strange a Thing. By the Way he found two extraordinary long Cloaks, or Barbarian Blankets, made of Sheep-Skins with the Wooll on, and a pair of Shoes made of raw Hides to bind about the Feet, which the *Indians* could not carry off, thro' the fearful Precipitation of their Flight. They continu'd their Discovery, and the Wind oblig'd them to strike over to the Southern Coast, five Leagues distant from *Our Lady of the Vale*; and tho' the cold Winds blew, they found this Country more Temperate than the others. It is inhabited by proper People, has wild and tame Cattel, and Game, as was declar'd by *Philip*, so they call'd an *Indian* they brought over, in Honour to King *Philip*. It produces Cotton, a certain Sign of its being Temperate; and Cinnamon, by them call'd *Cabea*. The Air is very serene, and the Stars appear bright, so that they are plainly to be observ'd, lay'd down, and describ'd. *Sarmiento* says it is useful in those Parts to observe the *Crozier*, which is 30 Degrees above the *Antartick* Pole, and that he made use of it, for taking of Latitudes, as we do in our Hemisphere of the *North Star*, tho' with another Sort of Computation. And in Regard that the *Crozier* does not serve all the Year, he sought out another *Polar Star*, nearer to the Pole, of a shorter Computation, but general and perpetual; and he us'd such Industry, that he discover'd, and ascertain'd it by Observations, and Experiments of several clear Nights. He settled the Stars in the *Crozier*, and two other *Croziers*, and two other *Polar Stars*, which take a very small Compass; this he did for the common Benefit of curious Sailors. Notwithstanding all these Tokens, and the Incouragement of humane Curiosity, no Man has ever gone to those Towns, which had such promising Signs of Civility; tho' those rude Giants did not seem to confirm those Appearances of a well-settled Country. *Sarmiento* ran along the Streight, never ceasing to sound, and lay it down till he came to a Cape, he call'd, *Of the Holy Ghost*, from which to that of the *Virgin Mary*, there are 110 Leagues from the South to the North Sea. Here they began to order their Course with due Difference. They saw Whales, and on the Shores, Thickets of several unknown Plants. They ran thro' Storms and Dangers, surprizing even to such experienced Sailors as they were. They all vow'd Offerings to Churches, Alms, and Pilgrimages to Places of Devotion in *Spain*, with other solemn Engagements, on which fearful Mortals in Danger, devoutly ground and encourage their Hopes. The Tempest ceas'd, and on the 25th of *March*, about Midnight, *Sarmiento* saw a low white Rainbow, opposite to the Moon, which was moving against it; and it was occasion'd by Repercussion of her Rays, which fell by Refraction on the opposite Clouds. He says, That neither he nor any other Person, ever saw, heard, or read of the like; but by his good Leave, in *Albericus Vespusius's* Epitome of Voyages, we read that the same happen'd in the Year 1501, in that same Place, where both of them taking the Sun's Altitude, they found him in 23 Degrees large, which is as good as 15 Leagues. This Day they were within the Tropick of *Capricorn*. Proceeding forward, they lost their Reckoning, and the Hopes of recovering it, for Want of Mathematical Instruments; but on the first of *April*,

South Coast.

Observations for Sailors.

Sarmiento comes into the North Sea.

*Anchors at
the Island
Ascension.*

*Ravenous
Birds.*

*Fight with
the
French*

1580, at Night, they discover'd, and observ'd the *Polar-Star* of the Triangle in 21 Degrees ; and on the 10th of the same Month, they saw the Island of the *Ascension*, at eight Leagues Distance. They anchor'd there, found Water, and saw several Crosses, erected by some *Portugueses*, who in their Way to *India*, were cast away there by a Storm, and the Living, out of Devotion, set them up on the Graves of those that dy'd. On one of them they found a Board nail'd, with this Inscription, Don John de Castel Rodrigo, *Commodore*, arriv'd here with five *India Ships*, on the 13th of May, 1576. Near to it, *Sarmiento* set up another, as a Memorial, that the first Ship coming from *Peru*, touch'd there, having pass'd thro' the Strait from the South to the North-Sea, on the King's Account, with the Occasion of his Voyage. This Island abounds in Sharks, which are Sea-Monsters, Fish, and a Sort of such greedy and troublesome Fowl, that they make at whatsoever they see. They took the Ensigns Hat off his Head, to snatch away a Letter he had stuck in it. He sav'd his Hat, by clapping up his Hand immediately, but lost the Letter, which they pull'd away by Force ; and afterwards they saw a Fray in the Air, the others endeavouring to take it from that Harpy, which first snatch'd it away. This Island lies in 7 Degrees and a half of South Latitude, and it is very observeable, that tho' the *Spaniards* were very attentive to their Com-pas, and took so many Precautions for their Security, yet such was the Force of the several Currents, that when they thought they were 60 Leagues from *Pernambuco* East and West, at the River of *Virtues*, on the Coast of *Brazil*, they found themselves 400 Leagues to the Eastward ; so that the Currents deceiv'd, and drove them 340 Leagues from the Point they had settled by the Degree of Latitude. *Sarmiento* discourtes largely upon this Effect, charging the Sea-Charts with Falshood, and being ignorantly laid down. Dreadful Tempests ensu'd, till on the 28th of April, on the Coast of *Guinea* he discover'd *Sierra Lione*, abounding in Gold, and Blacks. Then the Islands they call of *Idols*, and beyond them those of *Vixagaos*, inhabited by stout Black Archers, who shoot poison'd Arrows, wherewith, such as are wounded, presently dye raving. On the 8th of May they all fell sick on the Coast of *Guinea*, of Fevers, Lameness, Swellings, and Imposthumations in their Gums, which in that Country prove Mortal, by Reason of the Excessive Heat, and then for Want of Water ; but Heaven reliev'd them with seasonable Rain. When they labour'd to make the Islands of *Cabo Verde* for some Refreshment, the Winds drove them off. They bore up without finding Land, or any Ship, till on the 22d of May, being in 15 Degrees 40 Minutes of North Latitude, they descry'd two Sail. *Sarmiento* believ'd they had been *Portugueses*, and was desirous to make up to ha'e them ; but upon better Observation perceiv'd, the one was a Tall Ship, the other a Sloop, both of them *French*, who pursu'd and endeavour'd to get to Windward of him. The Sloop came foremost to view our Ship, which made good its Advantage. When they were come in Sight of the Island of *Santiago*, the *French* held up a Naked Sword, and then fir'd some Shot. The *Spaniards* answer'd with their Muskets, which was then done by both Sides, and several *French* Men fell, tho' on our Side never a Man was kill'd, but some wounded, and then they fled more swiftly than they had pursu'd. Those on the Island beheld the

the Engagement, and thinking it had been Counterfeit, and both the Ships *French*, they stirr'd not out to Succour either. When the Pirate was quite fled, a *Caravel* of *Algarve* arriv'd coming from *Portugal*, which discover'd the Pirate's Name, and Strength; declaring he had 85 Men in the Ship, and 25 in the Sloop, and among them a *Portuguese* Pilot. That he had plunder'd four other Ships, and the said *Caravel*, at *Cape Blanco*, on the Coast of *Africk*; and at the Island of *May*, not far from *Santiago*, had sunk another *Caravel*, belonging to the Royal Navy, which was sailing for *Brazil*, in order to *People Paraguay*; where the *English* had of late Years built Towns, intermarrying with, and being attracted by the Love, and Children they had by the *Tapuer Indian* Women.

Sarmiento Landed at *Cabo Verde*, the Custom-House of which City yearly is worth to the King 10000 Ducats. There are always in it 20000 Blacks, because of the settled Trade for them. Before he Anchor'd, there came Boats from the Shore, to view his Ship, and he telling them, he came from *Peru*, through the Streights of *Magellan*, they were amaz'd. They return'd to give an Account to their Governor *Gaspar de Andrade*, and told him, That those that came in the Ship, were Men of several Shapes, Deform'd, and Ill-look'd, and others with long tangled Hair and Locks. These were some *Indians* of *Peru* and *Chile*. As for the Rest *Sarmiento* has these Words, *As to our being Ill-look'd, they did not wrong us; for besides that we had no effeminate Countenances, the Powder and Sweat of our Volleys of small Shot, a little before, had not set us off to any Advantage; and, in short, we had more mind to some Water than to look like Beaus.* However, neither he nor his Men went Ashore, till they had satisfy'd a Pratick Master that none of them were infected with the Plague. The next Day they Landed bare-Foot, in Procession, with Crosses, and Images, repairing to the Church of our Lady of the Rosary, where they gave Thanks, Alms, and other effects of their Vows, with extraordinary Joy; for every Storm is so much Honour, when recounted in sa'e Harbour. They Confess'd, and receiv'd the Blessed Sacrament at a Mass they had Vow'd to cause to be said. The Governor, *Don Bartholomew Leytzo*, Entertain'd, and made much of them, tho' at first he would not believe they had pass'd the Streight. The Sick were Cured, and the Ship and Boat which were much shatt'r'd, re-fitted. The main Design of this Voyage, which was to Fight *Drake*, and provide the proper Defence against the Designs of the Enemy, had not been compass'd; and therefore *Sarmiento*, having fought the *French* Ship, and Sloop, which appear'd again, alarming that Coast, and both of them flying back with all speed, after being Shatter'd and Beaten, to the Island *Mayo*, or of *May*, the common Shelter of Robbers; He redoubled his Watchfulness, and went on to get Intelligence of the *English*, as well those that pass'd the Streight with *Drake*, as of those new Planters in *Brazil*, or *Paraguay*; as also of the Inclination of the Subjects of the Crown of *Portugal*, to submit to King *Philip*, or *Don Antony*. A Pilot of *Algarve* inform'd him, That the Year before, betwixt *Ayamonte* and *Tavira*, two *English* Merchants, speaking of the *Indies*, assured him, that *Drake* was gone thro' into the South Sea; and by the Time, the News agreed with what the *Indians* of the Streight had signify'd to him by Signs; and that he arriv'd safe in *England*, with two Ships fraught with Gold and Silver of that notable Robbery,

Sarmiento
at *Cabo*
Verde.

Intelli-
gence he
receives.

which he presented to the Queen. She fitted out five other Ships, with three Years Provision, to return to the Streights of *Magellan*, to seek out those that had been lost there; and *Drake* eight more. That the first five were already gone in *Decemb.* last. That the Merchants had entrusted him with that Secret, taking him for a *Portuguese*, and who, as such, would not discover it to the *Spaniards*. By the *French* he was informed, That as soon as they had brought off some Ships with Blacks from *Castro Verde*, they would go over to the Island *Margarita*, and thence to the North-ward, from the Island of *Santo Domingo* to *Yaguana*, whence they came not above four Months since, Loaded with Hides, and Sugar. That they had kill'd Captain *Barbudo*, in the Island *Margarita*, in Revenge for the *English* he had slain. That having taken the Governor of *Brazil*, they again set him at Liberty. That all their Pilots are *Portugueses*. He was also told by others who came from thence, and by Captains of Reputation, who were returning thither, that in the Bay of *Paraguay*, near *Rio de Janeyro*, which is in 21 Degrees, 12 Minutes South Latitude, there had been for eight Years last past, Colonies of *English* among the *Tapujers*; with whom for the three last Years, the *Portuguese* were at War, and had kill'd most of them.

English in
Paraguay.

That it is suppos'd the Natives, who are Man-Eaters, had devour'd most of those that fled up the Country. He pick'd up other Intelligence from *England*, concerning their Navies, their Colonies in those Parts, and Design of Usurping the *Molucco* Islands with all their Strength, and to render themselves Invincible Masters of the Spice. They dispatch'd a Boat, with these Advices to the Viceroy of *Peru*; for *Sarmiento* could not return himself by the way of *Brazil* and *Paraguay*, because the force of the Currents had drove him away into the Main Sea, East-ward. Before his Departure, he caus'd his Ensign to be Strangled, as a Traytor to his King, to the Dishonour of his Post, and an Obstructor of the Discovery. Two other Soldiers he Bannish'd, one of them from the *Indies*, and shew'd Severity to some of the Company, on Account of the same Crime, which, it was believ'd, had not been so fully prov'd upon them, as is requisite for inflicting the usual Punishment.

Sarmiento
Strangles
his Ensign,
and Punish-
es others.

Advice-
Boat sent
the Vice-
roy of Peru

Conflagra-
tion in the
Island of
S. George.

From this Port he sail'd to the Westward, till he came to the Channel between the Island *Fuego* and that of *Santiago*, where one of the Ships that came out with him stay'd. Steering Norwest, one Point over or under, for that is the Course to the Island *S. Anton*, he thence dispatch'd the Advice Boat for the Viceroy of *Peru*, with eight Men, commanded by *Ferdinand Alonso*. In thirteen Days more he pass'd betwixt the Island *Graciosa*, one of the *Azores*, small, but fruitful, and populous, and that of *S. George*, in which he saw prodigious high Fires. Those he afterwards found verified by the Bishop, at *Angra*, where he resides. That on the first of *June* that same Year, there were dreadful Earthquakes in the Island of *S. George*, Voices of Devils were heard, and among other wonderful Effects, the Earth open'd in three Places, whence Streams of Fire ran as far as the Sea. Those continu'd, and seven more broke out, casting forth as many Rivulets of Liquid Fire; one of which ran round an Hermitage, and nine Men running to save some Bee-Hives from being burnt, another Mouth open'd, which swallow'd seven of them, and sing'd the other two. So much Ashes fell like Rain upon the Earth, that it was cover'd a Span deep, and in short, all the

the Island was on Fire *Sarmiento* held on his Course, and on the 18th of June, arriv'd at the City *Angra*, on the Island *Tercera*, the Chief of the *Azores*, where also came in a Ship from the Town of *Bernambuco*, and another from *Baya de todos os Santos*, in *Brazil*. These being ask'd, What they knew of the *English*; assur'd him, That in *November* last past there came five White Men, with fifteen *Indians*, who were going to *Ileos*, and the *Portuguese* Towns by Land; and going along the Shore, they on a sudden, at *Rio de las Cuentas*, lighted upon an *English* Sloop. Seven of the Men were ashore drying their Sails, and as soon as they saw the Travellers they fled. The *Portuguese* persisted pursuing them; but the *English* letting fly some Arrows, held on their Flight, two of them up the Mountain, and the other five along the Coast, till they got into the Sloop. They cut their Cables, and left behind them two large Carriages for Guns.

Some English in Brazil.

The Travellers desir'd them to come ashore, and offer'd them Meat, and all other Necessaries, assuring them they meant no Harm. They answer'd, they would not come, and show'd Muskets, Cross-bows and Pikes, pointing a small Gun, to fire at them. It was then Ebb, and they departed six Leagues from thence, to sail near the River *de las Cuentas*. That at the Island *Cape*, over-against *Camamu*, another *Portuguese* Ship, that knew nothing of this Sloop, lighted on it, when there were only three *English* Men left in her, the rest being kill'd ashore, with Arrows by the Natives. In short, the Sloop was cast away, five Men of it being taken, who declar'd, that it came with a Squadron of ten Ships, in which a certain great *Englishman* pass'd the Streights of *Magellan*. That they return'd thence Coasting along, to plant a Colony in the most convenient Place for their Purpose, the Admiral having 500 Men aboard for that End. Four Hundred of them were Soldiers, the rest Seamen, and other Mechanicks. That all this Squadron Anchor'd in an Island of *Cainbals*, or Man-Eaters, and a Storm rising, nine of them sail'd away, but the Admiral not being able to get from her Anchors time enough, was Cast away, none being sav'd but those that came in the Sloop, and they escap'd by being then gone to Water. One of these five was 35 Years of Age, and an able Mathematician. He affirm'd, That those who escap'd the Storm, would soon return to the Coast of *Brazil*, with a numerous Fleet. Among other Particulars, he told them, that they found an Inscription with the King of *Spain's* Arms, in that part of the Island *Cananca*, where they were, which their Commander in chief took away, and set up in the Place of it another, with those of *England*. Besides all this, three of those Ships that escap'd the Storm, coming before the *Portuguese* Town of *Rio de Janeiro*, to make the Cape, and find out the other six, the Governor of that Place, sent out four *Canoes* to take Cognizance of them, which on a sudden fell in with another Long-Boat belonging to the *English*, who, as soon as they spy'd the *Canoes*, made away, but could not do it so fast as to save all. They took Three, and the Governor sent them to *Bahia*; but the Ships made away with all their Sails. The Prisoners own'd, That in case they met with their Ships at the Cape, they were resolv'd to go to *Parayba*, or *Pernambuco*. In other Respects they agreed with the Account given by those in the Sloop. The *English* arriv'd at *Brazil* about *November*, 1579, at the same Time that *Sarmiento* was seeking

An English Squadron.

The Admiral cast-away.

English at Brazil.

*Ship of
theirs cast-
away.*

*Drake's
Treasure
seiz'd.*

*Sarmiento
in Spain.*

*King Hen-
ry of Por-
tugal dyes.*

king for the Streight; and this agrees with the confuse Signs the Brutish *Indians* of those Parts made to him, as he Touch'd on their Coasts. His chief Care being to enquire into these Matters, he was inform'd by the *Corregidor*, that is the Governor in Civil Affairs of *Angra*, that on the second of *November*, that same Year, another *English Ship* was Cast-away at *Gualva*, a Town two Leagues distant from that City, with six Men in it, two whereof, and a Black were sav'd. It appear'd there had been 300 Men in the Ship, and much Wealth, which was thrown into the Sea, during the Storm. That they were going to plant Colonies in *India*, and most of the Men dy'd on the Coast of *Guinea*; and perhaps this might be one of the nine Ships aforesaid. The People of *Gualva* drew out of the Sea fifteen heavy pieces of cast Iron Cannon, but could not get out several others: The fifteen are of an extraordinary Magnitude, as it were for some settled Fort. To conclude, he was inform'd, and Time has since verified it, that they were preparing in those Northern Parts to rob us of the Treasure of Metals, and Spice there is in those Countries, and in exchange to Introduce their Sects. The final Success of both the *Spanish* and the *English* Admirals, was that they arriv'd safe in their respective Countries, forsaken by the Vice-Admirals. *Drake* return'd to *London*, with an immense Treasure, which the Queen seiz'd, alledging, That *Don Barnardino de Menoza*, then the *Spanish* Embassador at that Court, demanded Restitution, as belonging to his K. and the rest of it taken from his Subjects; but she adjudg'd it to her own Coffers, in Recompence for the Damage sustain'd, when the *Spaniards* supported her Rebels in *Ireland*. *Drake* was not enrich'd by his Robberies, nor did he gain any Reputation by his Actions; but on the contrary he was slighted in *England*, either because they knew what he did was not Honourable, or that generally a Man's own Country is ungrateful to him. *Sarmiento* departing from *Angra* with a fair Wind, discover'd the Coast of *Spain* on the 7th of *August*, and arriv'd at Cape *S. Vincent*, full of Intelligence and News from so great a Part of the World, and of the Designs of several Nations, and the Crown of *Portugal*. His Arrival, and Account produc'd the fitting out of other Fleets, and fresh Preparations in *Spain*, and in the *Indies*, which extended to the Relief of the remotest Parts. One of them was the Reducing of *Ternate*, and the sending over one hundred *Spanish* Families, arm'd, provided and examin'd, as to Quality and Virtue, to be the first Inhabitant of those Desarts upon the Streight. They carry'd Tools, Arms, Instructions, and all Necessaries to fortifie the narrow Parts of it. *Sarmiento* went as Chief, and Governor of those Dominions. This Project prov'd unsuccessful, and in the general Opinion of all Men, it was through the Fault of the General *Sancho Flores*. Afterwards *Sarmiento* was taken, and set at Liberty in *England*, where he had Conferences with the Queen and *Drake* upon this Subject, whence he drew Information for the Execution of greater Designs.

This Year King *Henry* Dy'd in *Portugal*, when he had Reign'd but thirteen Months. Five Governours had the Administration during the *Interregnum*, and were disturb'd by the Arming of *Don Antonio*, within the Kingdom, and by King *Philip's* Forces already advancing into the Frontiers. So that neither Government could do any more than consult about the present Exigencies; which at that Time were neither perfect Peace nor open War, there being Hopes that they would lay down their Arms, and joyn with

with their true Prince, whom the *Portuguese* is wont to Love, as a Father, rather than as a King. However there were some Troubles, and Commotions. Private Discord is an inseparable incident to all Governments, and that draws the Thoughts of Men after it, and is often the Original of general Calamities, tho' it be moderated, or justly'd by a sincere Zeal.

King *Philip* enter'd *Lisbon* supporting his Right by his Power, and whilst the other Provinces, which compose that Monarchy in *Spain*, *Africk*, *Asia*, and the *East-Indies* submitted to him, he bestow'd Favours, gave Laws, confirm'd the Old, ratified Priviledges, and gain'd Affections by his Presence, and a General Pardon, which he extended to those who had offended him. On the 15th of *November* 1582, he swore to observe those Laws establish'd by his Predecessors, and particularly by King *Emanuel*, as then next Heir to the Crowns of *Spain*, for himself and his Son, Prince *Michael*, whom God took to a better Kingdom in his Infancy. Those Laws were afterwards sworn to by King *Sebastian*, and all of them imported, that all Honours, Employments, Benefices, and the Management of the Revenue of the Crown, with all other Commands by Sea and Land, in *Portugal*, *Africk*, *India*, the Islands and all other Parts already conquered, or to be conquer'd by that Crown, shall be in the Hands of Natural born *Portugueses*. And by the 24th Chapter of these Laws, it was establish'd, that in fitting out Fleets for *India*, or otherwise for Defence of the Kingdom, or suppressing of Pyrates, the King should take the necessary Measures with the Kingdom of *Portugal*, though he should use the Assistance of his Majesties other Dominions. They were sensible that this favourable Law, without infringing the Antient Laws, made way for employing the Forces of the Crown of *Castile*, in the Recovery, or Preservation of the Kingdoms of the Eastern *Archipelago*, where at that Time the Christians suffer'd Martyrdom, without any Opposition. And the King for the Recovery of *Ternate*, especially consider'd the Conveniency of the *Philippine* Islands, which lie more opportune than *India*; the Justness of which Reflection has been confirm'd by the Event.

King Philip the II. at Lisbon.

He Swears to maintain the Laws.

India at this Time was govern'd by the Viceroy *Fernan Tellez*, to whom King *Philip* the second Writ, representing how favourable an Opportunity he had to do God good Service, to secure the Tranquility of Christendom, and settle Peace, which inestimable Advantages would be owing to his Fidelity and Care, if through them those Provinces should be united to the Monarchy, without any Trouble, by continuing Loyal, and providing that the Tributary Kings should do the same. He put him in Mind that Services become the more valuable by the surmounting of the greatest Difficulties, and gave him good Hopes of a Reward, which would have been fulfill'd, had he come home to see the Effects of them and his Services. But *Fernan Tellez* had no need of any such Promises, or of the Perswasions which are as good as Commands, contain'd in Letters from Ministers of State, and sent with the King's Letter. These being sent over Land, came to his Hands in six Months, and he either preserving, or gaining their Affections had so much Forecast as to confirm the King, Princes, and *Sangiacks*, who, in those remote Parts, pay subjection to the Crown of *Portugal*; before he knew any thing of the Orders sent him, or of the additional Estate the King was pleas'd to confer on him. By his Authority he

India submits to him.

Tellez the Viceroy Loyal.

disappointed

disappointed some Projects of Confederacies, set a foot for the recovering of their Former Liberty, hoping by the Example of the King of *Ternate*, that the Revolutions in *Europe* might turn to their Advantage. But in despite of these Contradictions and Changes, *Fernan Tellez* so far prevail'd, as that the Religious Mendicants, and the *Jesuits*, continu'd the preaching of the Gospel, with such Fervour, that they defy'd even Tyranny it self. The Conversions of Idolater Princes are truly and elegantly related in the Writings and Books of the Missions of the Society, and other Ecclesiastical Histories; so that they excite, and inflame Devotion in the Breasts of such as read them. There may be seen, how the Truth was embrac'd, with all possible Affection; how hastily, and eagerly they learn'd the Catechism; what Rejoycings the Catechumens made on the Day they were baptiz'd; Queens, and Princeesses worshipping the Images of Saints; and sweeping the new Churches, and Chappels with their own Hands; with what Attention, and Exactness they honour'd the Ceremonies of the Church, and lastly, how they frequented the Sacraments, and improv'd in Christianity.

King of
Bachian
kill'd.

Molucco
way of
fighting.

Battle of
Tydores
and Ternates.

All this was Persecuted, and Extirpated by the King of *Ternate*; who was now so far from enduring any neighbouring Empire, that he struck a Dread into the remotest; insomuch, that tho' they were all sensible they ought in all good Policy to support the Kingdoms of *Tydores* and *Bachian*, yet they became lookers on, as it were on a Stage, to behold the Assaults given, and the Cruelties acted at the Sieges. And in the latter of them, whilst throughout *India* the Standards were display'd in submission to *Spain*, the King of *Ternate* enter'd *Bachian*, and press'd on so vigorously, that he took the Forts by main Force, and made the principal *Sangiacks* Prisoners. At the Taking of the City of *Bachian*, the King of the Island was slain in Fight, with all the *Portugueses* that assisted him; and the Prince, his Son, taken, who was then a Christian, but soon after, having taken an Oath of Fealty to the Conqueror, and Apostatiz'd from the True Religion, he was miserably Restor'd to his Kingdom, exchanging the Hopes of his Souls Salvation, for the Pernicious Fables of the *Alcoran*, to which he has adher'd till this time; tho' in Temporals he now owns the sovereign Dominion of our King. The War with the *Tydores* lasted longer, the two Navies fighting with indifferent Success, and Victory changing sides, according to various Accidents. These Princes method of making War depends on Ambushes, and Stratagems, where Subtilty supplies the place of Strength. It is rare that either side is much weakned; because as soon as sensible of the others Advantage, the Weaker flies, and reserves himself for better Fortune; nor do they look upon it as Dishonourable to fly, for in those Parts they have but rude Notions of the Laws of Honour. The last Action, after they had sustain'd the Siege with extraordinary Magnanimity, was a Sally made by the *Portuguese* and *Tydores* from the Fort, with much Order and Conduct, Attacking the Enemies Camp with such Bravery, that tho' they were much superior in number, they could not stand the Fury of the King of *Tydores*. The *Ternates* being put to Flight, imbarc'd after a great Slaughter of their Men, and never hopp'd till they came to *Talan-game*, so they call the Harbour of *Ternate* on that side. The *Tydores* pursu'd, and being flust'd with Victory despis'd the Succours the *Ternates* had ready

ready in that Place, which Addition made them renew the Fight with fresh Vigour, and wrest the Victory which then inclin'd to the *Tydores*. These without breaking their Order, retir'd and imbark'd; and hasting back in their *Carcoas* came to *Tydore*, where they fortify'd themselves against what might happen. The King of *Ternate* return'd to this City in Triumphant Manner, making a Show of some Prisoners.

The News of the Union of *Portugal* to *Castile*, was now known throughout all those Eastern Parts, and so well receiv'd, that instead of offering at any Opposition, they all joyfully submitted, hoping they should be protected by a more powerful Arm, than they had been before. Nor were they deceiv'd in their Expectation, for, pursuant to what the King had sworn at *Lisbon*, concerning the Fleets, for suppressing of Pyrates, and Garrisoning the Coasts of *Africk*, he granted his Royal Order, for all the Governours of the *Philippine* Islands to take Care to relieve the *Moluccos*, and all other the Dominions in *India*, belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*, making use of *New Spain*, and all other Kingdoms subject to the Crown of *Castile*, there being more conveniency for supplying them from thence, than even from *India*.

The King of *Ternate*, being sensible of the Change of Times, and how much greater Forces threatned him than before; and that he should not be suffer'd to reign, without submitting to a Superior, he grew better advis'd, and sent an Ambassador to *Lisbon*. The Ambassador was *Cachil Nayque*, well known for the Antiquity of his Family, and brave Actions. *Nayque* signifies a Tribune, or Commander. He embark'd with much Wealth of those Parts, as Porcelane, *Chinese* Silks, Calico's and Muslins, Spice, Fruit, Aromatick Woods and Barks, and Preserves of the same; and passing between the Islands of *Pangicaz* and *Manado*, near to that of *Celebes*, keeping off from the Equinoctial, coasted it and cross'd the Line again, till he came to *Borneo*. There he visited the King, who was at *Tay-aopura*, and deliver'd him Letters from his Master, attempting by Word of Mouth, to unite him to the *Molucca* Nation against the Crown of *Spain*. Contenting himself with the first Hopes, he pass'd on betwixt *Cremato* and *Surato*, and cross'd the Islands *Pulo* and *Linga*, in sight of the greater *Java*, thence thro' the Streight of *Malaca*, by the great Ones of *Banca* and *Bintan*, in the Port whereof were then the 20 Ships, which are sent from *Sumatra* every Year, loaded with Pepper. He barter'd away much of what he had in his own Ship, and propos'd a general Revolt to all Nations. There are two Streights there; the one of *Sincapura*, so call'd from that City built on the Coast of *Malaca*; and the other of *Sabao*, from an Island of that Name, and this leads to *Sumatra*. *Nayque* steer'd this Course, and soon put into the Harbour which lies going out of the Channel.

Nayque
Embassa-
dor for
Spain.

His Voyage.

Streights
of *Sinca-*
pura and
Sabao.

This great Island, opposite to *Malaca*, and divided from it by a Bay full of Ridges, of Rocks and Shoals, and above a thousand smaller Islands, was formerly a *Peninsula*, and contiguous to *Malaca*, as *Sicily* is said to have been to *Italy*. Ancient Geographers call'd it *Trapobana*, the Modern *Sumatra*. The Ancients also call'd it, the *Golden Chersonesus*, and the most curious Searchers into Antiquity, *Ophir*, whence *Solomon* gather'd that vast Mass of Treasure. According to the *Portugueses* it is 80 Leagues

Sumatra
describ'd.

Leagues in Length, and 30 in Breadth. (Here seems to be some Mistake in the Author, for the Island is well known to be above 80 Leagues in Length.) *Italian* Writers say it is 2100 in Circumference. The *Dutch*, who have traded and made War there, do not contradict it, and all agree it is the largest in all the East, and the most fruitful we know of. It lies thwarting from North to South, in the *Torrid Zone*, and the Equinoctial Line cuts it in the Middle; so that one Part falls to the Northern Hemisphere, and takes up five Degrees, and the other to the Southern, extending seven Degrees. This Island is, according to some, divided into four Kingdoms; others say ten, and some 29; but we know of eight, which are, *Pedir*, *Pacem*, *Achem*, *Camper*, *Menancabo*, wealthy in Gold Mines, and *Zaude*; and up the Inland the other two of *Andragide*, and *Auru*, the Natives whereof are Idolaters and Man-Eaters. They devour, not only Strangers, but their own Brothers, and Fathers. In short, among these barbarous People, Hunger produces the same Effects as Passion. The King of *Achem* is the most Powerful of them, and they all pay Homage to the Crown of *Portugal*. *Nayque* enter'd the Court of *Achem*, attended by his own Men, and follow'd by the Multitude of *Chinese*, *Japonefe*, *Malay*, *Persian*, and *Turkish* Merchants; all of them flattering themselves with the Expectation of new Commotions. He first worshipp'd the King in a Temple, where there were monstrous Idols, notwithstanding that the People are *Mahometans*. He had afterwards private Conferences with him at Court, and in a few Days brought him over to his Party, with his Wealth, as if he had been a poor Man. After delivering his Master's Letters, he told him, that before he went over into *Europe*, whether he was sent to discover the Power of *Spain* in its Origin, or Source, at a Time when it was distracted by such Revolutions, it was convenient that most wealthy Part of *Asia* should be restor'd to its former Condition, a Matter of no Difficulty, if they were firmly united among themselves. That none were so able to overthrow the Neighbouring Monarchy, which from *Malaca* had, as it were, fetter'd so many Provinces, as the Kings of *Sumatra*, if they, considering of what Moment it was to them, would stand by one another. That since he had successfully besieg'd that hateful City, assaulted its Walls, and Forts, and valu'd himself on being an Enemy to the *Portugueses*, he ought not to let slip so favourable an Opportunity, which offer'd him compleat Victory. That he should remember the several Expeditions of the Viceroy's against *Sumatra*, and that they always breed up *Adelantados*, or Lords-Lieutenants, with their Soldiers in Pay against those Kingdoms. And that since, till then they had not been able to make him uneasy, it was too much Forbearance to suffer a perpetual Threat of Thralldom to subsist so near him. The King of *Achem*, listen'd to him with Satisfaction, as one, who, with all his Nation, hates the Haughtiness of the *Portuguese* Behaviour; yet he neither promis'd, nor perform'd any more than obstructing the Trade of *Malaca*, till he had reduc'd it to Want. Nor did he keep the Secret, for they had soon an Account at *Malaca* and *Goa* of these Contrivances. He farther promis'd, That whensoever the King of *Ternate* should make a greater Invasion, or go about to extend, or enlarge himself, as far as he pretended he had a Right, he would continue to give the Diversion, as far as stood with his

Conve-

Nayque
stirs up
Princes to
revolt.

The King
of Achem
complies.

Conveniency, and that he should have the Liberty of his Ports, and all Supplies for his Ships in his Kingdom. *Nayque* return'd Thanks, and extended his Negociation, endeavouring to bring in the other Tyrants of *Sumatra*, as for the Publick Good. Then sailing away through the Streight of *Sunda*, so call'd from the Name of a City in the furthest Part of the Province, beyond the Line; he proceeded to the greater *Java*, no less Fertile than the other in the same Medicinal, and Odoriferous Growth, at the Time when *Thomas Candish*, an *English* Commander was arriv'd there, coming from the North-Sea, by the Way of *New Spain*.

Nayque went up the Country to visit, and found him in a populous City, where he was loading Pepper, which is excellent in *Java*, with that King's Leave, he being a Friend to the *English*, who had already settled a Factory. He found him on the Banks of a River of such a Nature, that it presently converts any Wood whatsoever cast into it into Stone, as solid and hard as our Pebbles. He bore the *Englisman* Company to the Port of *Sunda Calapa*, view'd his Ship, and made as much of him as he could. Among other Things he presented him a Pavillion, artificially wove all with sweet scented Cloves, and not black, which was not only fit to keep out the excessive Cold of *England*, but even to dry up over moist Bodies that slept under it. There is daily Experience of its attractive Virtue at *Ternate*, by placing great Vessels full of Water in the middle of the Rooms where the Cloves are kept, and in the Morning they find the Heaps of Cloves damp, and the Vessels empty and dry. The same Essential Heat is in the Skeins of *China* Silk, which therefore those who deal in it keep at a small Distance from the Water, yet they suck it, without touching, and by this Fraud they weigh the heavier. Captain *John Lopez de Ribera* carry'd such a Pavillion of Cloves, as is above mention'd, and presented it to the Earl of *Coruna*, who was then Viceroy. *Nayque*, like a Flash of Lightning which burns all that stands in its way, endeavour'd to stir up those who before were kept peaceable by the Valour of *Fernan Tellez*, and to encourage the Turbulent, but without staying to see the effect of his Negociation, he made directly towards the Cape of *Good-Hope*, yet it is more likely, and even positive, that he went first to *Malaca*, and thence in the *India* Ships to *Spain*.

Whilst *Nayque* was at Sea, the Marques *de Santa Cruz* had in the Ocean fought the Fleet Commanded by *Philip Strozzi*, in which was *Antony the Bastard*, Pretender to the Crown of *Portugal*, and destroy'd it, Chastizing the *French*, who with real, or counterfeit Commissions from their King, had oppos'd King *Philip's* just Possession. He arrived victorious at the Island of *S. Michael*, cut off the Heads of the *French* Gentlemen, and condemn'd the Rest to the Gallies. *Strozzi* dy'd of his Wounds, and *Don Antonio* escap'd in a Boat, and return'd to *Zealand*, to sollicite fresh Succours in *England* and *France*. In the mean while, the King of *Achem* perform'd his Promise. His Kingdom lies next the first Promontory of the Island, in four Degrees and a half of North Latitude, and consequently his Ships easily made themselves Masters of all the Streight between *Sumatra* and *Achem*, which they so entirely possess'd, that they suffer'd none of the Ships to pass to *Malaca*, which brought Merchandize and Provisions from *China*, *Japan*, *Camboxa*, nor even from the *Moluccos*, obliging them to Coast

Candish in Java presented by Nayque.

Clove attracts Water, as does China Silk

Antony the Bastard Defeated.

Kingdom of Achem:

Coast about several Islands, to the great Loss of the Merchants. But the Portuguese Dealers in the City of *Pedir*, eight Leagues from *Achem*, sustain'd much greater Dammage. Most of them fled to *Malaca*, and tho' *Fernan Tellez* was then upon his Departure, he gave the necessary Orders at *Goa* for their Relief. He sunk some of the Enemies Snips, and took one loaded with Daggers, they call *Crizes*, made at *Menancabo*, and a numerous Artillery, a Thing well known, and cast in *Sumatra*, many Years before the Europeans brought them into those Parts. This appears by the Victory the Portuguese obtain'd over that Nation, during the Blockade of *Malaca*.

Monstrous
Piece of
Cannon.

Molucco
Embassa-
dor at Lis-
bon.

His Speech.

The King of *Achem* sending a Daughter to be Married to the King of *Zor*, not far from *Malaca*, in the Country of *Siam*, among other rich Gifts, by way of Portion, presented him a Brass Cannon of such a bigness, that the like had never been seen in *Europe*. This prodigious Gun, and the Princess that was to be Queen of *Zor*, fell into the Hands of the Portuguese. The taking of this Prize, and some others, clear'd the Sea of that Fleet; and that extraordinary piece of Cannon, which serv'd to Ballast a Ship, was brought as a Present to the King of *Spain*, for its Monstrous Size, but a Storm oblig'd them to leave it in the Island *Tercera*, where it is now seen and admir'd. The City *Zor* was also Taken by the Portuguese, and in it they found 1500 pieces of Cannon, Artificially Cast, with curious Figures and Flowers of Rais'd-Work on them. The *Molucco* Embassador being come to *Lisbon*, obtain'd Audience of the King; who, tho' he was fully inform'd of the Embassadors Falshood, and the Practices of his Nation, yet gave him a favourable Hearing, after he had shew'd his Credentials to the Ministers of State. He in a long Speech recounted, from its Original, the constant Fidelity of the *Molucco* Kings, and how particularly Remarkable it had been in *Sultan Aerio*, and that the wicked Commander in Chief in putting him to Death, had equally wrong'd the Crown of *Portugal*. That since the Murderer was not punish'd, to satisfy the dead Man's Children and Kingdoms, it might well be concluded, that so Cruel and Undeserv'd an Execution had been by the Direction of some higher Power than the Governor *Mesquita*, and that even in case the Crime had been Notorious it had been more Prudence to charge it upon some private Person. That King *Cachil Babu* intreated his Majesty to punish the Offender in such manner as might give Satisfaction, and be an Example and Security to all the *Asiatick* Kings, that own the Dominion of *Spain*. In Return for that Favour, and Justice, he promised to Restore the Fort of *Ternate*, and his other Kingdoms, which were Alienated, and that they would return to their former Subjection, as they had promis'd to the Governor *Pereyra de la Cerda*; so remarkably correct their Behaviour, that there should be visible Effects of a Royal, and Humble Gratitude, both in respect to his Majesties service, and the security of the Garrisons, and to the Advantage of the neighbouring Provinces, belonging to other Kings, who were his Subjects, about *Malaca*, the *Philippine* Islands, and Parts Adjacent. He also ingaged to Restore the Churches, and Christian Religion, and much more than had been agreed upon with *Pereyra*. The King having heard his Request, as if he were ignorant that the *Ternates* did not deserve the satisfaction they requir'd, since they had taken it themselves so fully, that it exceeded

exceeded even the bounds and examples of Revenge, he Answer'd, That all the Accessories to that Fact should be found out, it being prov'd that the Principal was already Dead, and none of them should escape Unpunish'd, as would have been done by King *Sebastian*, had he Liv'd. That *Cachil Babu* must prepare to Restore all Things into the same Posture they were in before, if he intended to partake of the general Amnesty, which blotted out all past Offences throughout the Dominions of that Crown. *Nayque* had some private Audiences, and some Ministers of State had Conferences with him, with a Design to find out how the People of *India* were dispos'd.

The King's Answer.

At this same Time *Don Gonzalo Ronquillo*, pursuant to the Orders he had receiv'd from *Spain*, sent the Ensign, *Francis de Duenas*, from the *Philippine* Islands, where he was Governor, to the *Moluccos*; to pry into the Inclinations of the Kings, and People, Governors, and other *Portugueses* at *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and *Bachian*, as to submitting to the King of *Spain*. He set out in the Habit of a *Chinese*, and was much assisted by his Knowledge of those Countries, and their Languages, and much more by his bold Spirit, sufficiently try'd in those Wars. He artfully Learnt what Hopes there might be of the Recovery of *Ternate*, and how firm the People of *Tydore* stood. He first inquired what Leagues were carrying on in the *Archipelago*, what Intelligence they had with, and expected from the Northern Fleets, with whom they had now familiar Correspondence. He Travell'd about the Islands, like a *Sangle*, or *Chinese*, in the *Fanguas*, or Trading Vessels of the *Malay*, and *Philippine* Merchants, and had the Opportunity of viewing them all, so far as to take the Dimensions of strong Places, compute what Stores and Ammunition the Barbarians had, and discover the Humours and Inclinations of the *Portugueses* who Traded, or Govern'd there; and returning to the *Philippine* Islands, his Account, and Relation, first Encourag'd and gave Hopes that more Advantageous Enterprizes might be undertaken in those Parts, than about *Malaca*, tho' it were but only Supporting the *Portugueses* and *Tydores*, then hard press'd by the King of *Ternate*. King *Philip* receiv'd this Intelligence at *Lisbon*, whence the *Molucco* Ambassador was then gone, ill satisfy'd with the Answer he had; but *Sultan Babu*, on whom the Word of so great a Monarch, and the Authority of his Promise might perhaps have had great Effect, dy'd long before the said Ambassador could come to his Presence.

Ensign Duenas from Philippines to the Moluccos.

The Intelligence he got.

The small Remains of Christianity still left in his Kingdom, took a little Heart, and had our Arms but appear'd upon the Revolution caus'd by his Death, the only Noise of them might have gain'd the Victory. It is Reported that furious King *Babu* dy'd by the excess of his Love, or rather of his inordinate Lust, in the Arms of one of his Mistresses. Some say she kill'd him with Charms, or Poison, which is the Tyrant-Slayer among those Nations, impatient of one Mans long Rule. He was Succeeded by his Brother, who was Illegitimate, as we are told by *Cachil Tulo*, in the Letter, which, as we shall see hereafter, he writ to the Governor of the *Philippine* Islands. The new King took the Name of *Cachil Sultan Nait Dini Baraca Xa*, before whom *Cachil Madraca* ought to have been preferr'd, as being Son to the principal Queen. As soon as Enthron'd he offer'd Peace to his Neighbours; on this Security, and that of a clear Conscience, *Cachil Gava*, King of *Tydore*, paid him a visit. He was received with publick Rejoycings

Sultan Babu Dies.

Sultan Nait succeeds.

*Murders
the King
of Tydore.*

cing in one of the greatest Squares of *Ternate*, and attended to a mighty lofty Arbour, provided to offer Sacrifice in, a (Chappel suitable to the Priesthood) and there to decide Controversies, and give Audience to his Subjects. When the first Complements were over, and the King of *Tydore* least suspected any thing, the *Ternate* Guards, hearing the Signal given by their K. drew their *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, and without allowing the Guest time to cry out, fell upon, and cut him in Pieces; tho' he was the Man thro' whose Means the K. of *Ternate* had the Crown given him, contrary to the Opinion, and Designs of his Unkles. But whensoever great Returns are due to a Favour receiv'd, Ungrateful Souls convert the Obligation into Hatred, and nothing can occur to them more odious than the Sight of the Benefactor. Next he turn'd his Fury against that murder'd Princes Family, and such of his Servants as could not make their Escape to *Tydore*, were either Kill'd, or remain'd Prisoners at *Ternate*, or absconded wheresoever Fortune, and their own Confusion lead them. This cruel Fact, which some assign'd to his Father, *Cachil Babu*, Reconcil'd the Murderer and his Unkles. But he immediately acquainted them, how he expected to be Invaded on two Sides; that it was of the utmost Consequence, that Subjects should own their Sovereign, and fortify his Islands, especially all the upper Parts; and that since he had such Powerful Unkles, it was Reasonable, and Convenient, the People should be acquainted how firmly they were United to their Nephew. Then extolling their Valour, he with the sweetness of their Commendations so blinded and amused them, that they could not perceive the profound Jealousie he shrouded under them. Thus he divided them, that they might attend the Fortifications in distant Places; whilst he in Person carry'd on the War against the *Tydores*. They presently set up a Brother of their late King in his Stead; who, tho' he govern'd with Bravery, and stuck close to the *Portugueses*, yet had some strong Places taken from him by the King of *Ternate*, which were afterwards restor'd, in our Kings Name, by *Don Pedro de Acuna* to the King now reigning. This Prince lived but a short Time, yet so long that *Cachil Mole*, who was a Child when the King his Father was murder'd, grew up, and in him the Revenge of the Injury receiv'd. He never thought, or talk'd of any other Thing, till he brought it to Execution.

*New King
of Tydore.*

In the mean while the new King of *Tydore*, assisted by the *Spaniards* he had in his Forts, provided to oppose, and attack his Enemy. They all expected Succours from *India*, where it was certain they must think it necessary to support *Tydore*, in order to recover *Ternate*. Their Behaviour was so brave, as to defend themselves, tho' ill furnish'd with Arms and Provisions against those who attack'd them with Plenty of all Things.

*He is taken
by him of
Ternate.*

Hector Brito was come with a Galleon from *India* to their Assistance, and it being known at *Tydore* that a Storm had oblig'd him to stay on the farther Coast of *Borneo*, the King fitted out four *Carcoas*, and went to meet him, but was forced back to his Island by contrary Winds. He of *Ternate* watch'd to improve all Opportunities against his Enemy, and therefore would not let this Slip, nor trust to any other; but Man'd out nine *Carcoas*, and going in Person fell upon him. The *Tydores* wanted not Courage to defend themselves, and the Fight began with that Fury, which always arms those two Nations against one another; but tho' the *Tydore* fought desperately

desperately, he was taken, and his Men either kill'd, or dangerously wounded. This Misfortune griev'd the *Portugueses* no less than the *Indians*, because they all lov'd him. For this reason they gather'd the Remains of that Disaster, and all the other Forces they could make, offering their Service to *Cacbil Aleazen*, Brother to the Captive King, a very hopeful Youth. He thank'd them, and was so dexterous in gaining the Affections, and confirming the Fidelity of the Subjects, that through his Care, no Man was wanting to his Duty. This Industry was of good Use, for the Conqueror did not return immediately to *Ternate*; but went about to his Enemies Islands, perswading the People in each of them to take an Oath of Allegiance to him, showing them their Captive King, whose Life was at his disposal; but the *Tydore* Towns, being furnish'd with all Necessaries, and believing they might with Safety practice that Hatred and Rage Nature has fill'd them with, would not give Ear to his Proposals, though they were mix'd with Intreaties, and Threats, and on the contrary dismiss'd him with their usual Fierceness. He perceiving that the Ostentation of his Victory, and the Sight of the Captive King availed him but little, Sail'd away for *Ternate*. At his Arrival, he was received with Trumpets, Kettle-Drums, and Basons they beat on, and with Songs they make for such like Occasions. The Heads and Limbs of the *Tydores* slain in Battel, were fix'd upon the Spears they have advanc'd in the *Carcoas* on the Poops and Prows, and other high Places of them, and particularly the Kings. This is their way of erecting Trophies. Of the Skulls they make Cups to drink out of; like the *Scythians*, who, according to *Herodotus*, practise the same; or like the *Germans*, as *Tacitus* tells us, of the Heads of the *Uri* they slew, and that was a Token of Nobility. He would not trust the keeping of the King in any of his Forts; but turn'd a strong House into a Goal, and appointed him a Guard of *Gilolo* Islanders, well arm'd. Sometimes he show'd Severity, and otherwhiles Tenderness; but all Men knowing his Disposition, expected the End of the Captive King; tho' at the same time they believ'd, he would mitigate his Revenge out of Respect to his Sister, the Princess of *Tydore*. *Hector Brito*, Commander of a *Galeon*, came now to *Tydore*; but his Arrival did not much mend the Posture of Affairs, tho' those in the Fort were Encourag'd to hold out, and at least he added some Reputation to the Cause, and inclin'd the *Ternates* to listen to some Overtures. However what could not be compass'd by force of Arms nor Treaty, was effected by the Resolution of an Amorous Soul.

The Princess *Quisayra*, Sister to King *Gapabaguna*, that was the Prisoner's Name, had so great an Opinion of herself, as to hope that her Beauty would prevail to bring about that good End, which was then of Consequence to all Parties, on several Accounts. She knew she was belov'd by the King of *Bachian*, by him of *Sian*, a brave Youth, by him of *Ternate* her Enemy, and by other prime *Sangiacks* of his Kingdom, and his Kinsmen, who all publickly vy'd in doing her Honour. She was discreet enough dexterously to feed them all with such Hopes, as lay no Obligation on the Party that gives them, and yet encourage those who value them. She gave out that she would marry none but the Man that should set her Brother at Liberty, and deliver him to her alive, or dead. This Part of the Declaration, tended to the Promoting of her Design.

Fidelity of the Tydores.

Cruelties of Ternates.

Hector Brito at Tydore,

Remarkable Story of the Captive King's Liberty.

Contrivance of Quisayra, Princess of Tydore.

The

*She is in
Love with
the Portu-
guese Com-
mander.*

The Promise work'd upon all her Admirers; tho' it was most certain, that her naming herself as a Reward of the Enterprize, proceeded from the Affection it bore *Ruy Diaz d' Acunha*, a Portuguese Gentleman, and Commander in Chief of the Fort of *Tydore*. She thought he would attempt the Rescuing of the King, and that such Success would entitle her to marry him, tho' many suspected there was already a mutual Obligation, as well as Desire, and that they were reciprocally in Love. It was known, that they had discours'd together several Times in the House of *Quinchana*, a great Lady, Aunt to *Quisayra*, whether *Ruy Diaz* was wont to go frequently; and that with her Interposition the Matter had been so far concerted, that the Princess promis'd she would embrace Christianity to marry him. This made not his Rivals dismay, and the King of *Ternate*, upon these profer'd Hopes, offer'd to give her Brother his Liberty. However he was not regarded, because *Quisayra* was as averse to be beholding to him, as she was desirous to be oblig'd by *Ruy Diaz*. This powerful Passion informs barbarous Minds. Her Disdain caus'd the King of *Tydore* to be more close confin'd, and his Body to be loaded with heavy Chains, being more narrowly observ'd than before.

*Cachil Sa-
lama a Lo-
ver of Qui-
sagra, his
Bravery.*

Cachil Salama, a Subject and near Kinsman of his, well known for his Valour in the Wars, was more deep in Love with *Quisayra* than all the Rest, and listen'd to all the Reports of their endeavouring to comply with her Expectation. He entirely keeping his own Council, a Thing rare in Lovers, to be secret without Affectation, that no Notice might be taken of him, one Night fitted out a *Baroto*, so they call a Sort of small Boat, putting into it five *Tydore* Soldiers, he could confide in. Thus he cross'd over the Channel to the Leeward, and landed on *Ternate*; where he left the Boat ready, but hid on the Shore. Then *Cachil Salama*, conceal'd among the Croud of trading People in the City, went to the chief Part they call *Limathas*, and set Fire to a House in that Ward he thought stood most convenient for his Purpose. The Flame, which had taken hold of the Roof gathering Strength, threatned a greater Conflagration. Having done this Mischiefe, whilst the People flock'd together, and endeavour'd to put a Stop to it with Water, and other means, *Cachil* return'd to his Boat, on the Inside the Ridge of Rocks there is about the Island, and went away to the other Side of the Fort, where he began to beat an Alarm, to cause the greater Confusion. This done he went ashore again, with only his *Campilan*, or Cimiter, ordering three of his Men to follow him at some small Distance. He found the King's Prison almost abandon'd, the Guards being gone to help at the House that was a Fire. He went in boldly, breaking open Doors, and Bolts, till he came to the Prisoners Chamber, who scarce believing what he saw, ask'd him, with much Amazement, how he came thither, and whether the Fort of *Tydore* was lost? *Cachil* answer'd, he must be quick, and go along with him, and should afterwards be satisfy'd as to his Questions; for if he refus'd he would strike off his Head. Then laying hold of the end of the Chain, and the other three *Tydore*s being now come up to them, they forc'd their Passage out of the House, making way with their Swords and killing such as offer'd to oppose them. The same Valour and good Fortune carry'd them through the Streets, to the Port, and leaping into their little Boat, put all their Hands to the

*He rescues
the King of
Tydore.*

Oars.

Oars. In those Islands it is usual for Kings to row, without being compell'd to it by Necessity; for as in *Spain* the Nobility learn to ride, so the Island Princes in all those Eastern Parts value themselves upon handling the Oars, and Sails. They cross'd over the Streight, and being pursu'd too late, by the light Vessels of *Ternate*, arriv'd unexpected at *Tydore*. The Fame of his arrival was soon spread abroad, and when certainly known, the Cannon was fir'd, the flat Drums in the Temples were beaten, and the Bells rung, the Sound whereof uses to draw the People of the *Moluccos* together, and in short there was a general Rejoycing, without quitting their Arms. All Men cry'd up *Cachil Salama* to the Skies, calling him the Deliverer of *Tydore*, and *Neza Maluco*, *Neza* signifies a Spear, and *Maluco* a Kingdom, and both together the Spear, that is, the Defence of the Kingdom.

Only *Quisayra* was troubled at this Event, because the general Promise she had made of marrying, whosoever perform'd it, was only design'd for *Ruy Diaz de Acunba*. She was not able to conceal this Truth; especially when *Cachil Salama* boldly press'd the Performance of the Promise, the King himself seconding him. She delay'd him, alledging some specious Pretences to gain Time. She would willingly have made her Complaint to *Ruy Diaz* himself, either to shame, or provoke him to Passion. She easily compass'd to meet him at her Aunts, where, as soon as she began to Discourse, there was nothing but Tears, Complaints, Excuses, and Contrivances to murder *Salama*, to conclude a Reconciliation. *Roque Pinheyro* the Commander's Nephew, and a Soldier of reputed Valour, was present at this Discourse. *Quisayra* trusting him with her secret Thoughts, he boldly, and with Art, gave her to understand that his Uncle was as slack as before; and since he had been so in the other Affair, what could be expected from him in what he now promis'd. He said, if she could prevail upon her self to be sensible of the Ingratitude of *Ruy Diaz*, and to substitute him in his Place, he would not only murder *Cachil*, but his own Uncle too. That out of the Respect due to her high Qualities, he had not till then presum'd to let her know how deeply he was in Love with her Beauty; but that he now thought himself absolv'd from all human Tyes, and wholly confin'd by that. *Pinheyro* had a full hearing, an Advantage not far remote from being admitted; and tho' he was not commanded to murder his Uncle, yet he perceiv'd he had not left him so well in the Princess Esteem as he was before.

In the mean while, *Cachil Salama* was not idle, pressing the Business hastily, and having got some Inkling, or suspecting the Cause of the Delay, like a true Lover who is seldom deceiv'd in this Sort of Jealousy, he found out the Truth. By the Contrivance of one of *Quisayra's* Women, he durst presume to hide himself in her Bedchamber; and in the dead of the Night, he suddenly appear'd before her, his Fierceness being overcome by a Superior Power. The Princess was surpriz'd, but dissembled it, and prepar'd to defend herself in Case Violence were offer'd. She threaten'd to cry out; utter'd Complaints with Tears, and bewail'd the loss of her Reputation, saying, how could they think her Innocent, who saw him either come in, or go out. *Salama* all the while in humble Posture, and on his Knees, assur'd her he had no other Design, than to put her in Mind of the Obligation she lay under, and that since it was known he was to be her Husband,

He gains her Affection. his being seen was of no Consequence. That her Reputation suffer'd more, by the delaying of the marriage; and that to convince her of his Affection, he would be gone as obediently as he had always done. He went out immediately, comforted with Thanks, and Hopes; and deliver'd her from the Fear she had conceiv'd of him. She was so taken with this Courteous Action, that revolving it in her Mind, it wrought so much, as to settle her Affection on *Salama*; so that she would have marry'd him, tho' he had not oblig'd her before.

Pinheyro murders his Uncle, and is kill'd by Salama. At this time *Pinheyro*, who was already engaged in her Love, either to obtain its Reward, or because his Uncle did not Favour him as he expected, or for both Reasons, contriv'd his Death. As he was going one Day to the Palace, to acquaint *Quisayra* that the Murder was already committed, *Cachil* happened then to come from a Fort to see his Mistress. He seeing *Pinheyro* coming out of her Apartment, drew his *Campilan*, or Cymiter, and tho' the Youth fought Manfully, and like a Lover, yet *Cachil*, who had the same Qualifications, and was Jealous over and above, at the first onset clove his Head, so furiously, that he dropt down dead of the Wound. Then proceeding as he had begun, he went in where *Quisayra* was, whom he easily perswaded to be gon with him, and leaving the Palace full of Confusion, they Imbark'd in the *Baroto*, or small Boat that brought him. They Marry'd with the good liking of the King and Kingdome, and the Loss of those two Gentlemen's Lives. And since among the *Portuguese* Nation, as much Account is made of Honour gain'd, or lost in Love Affairs, as was formerly of Victories obtain'd in *Greece*, at the *Olympick* Games, the Vindication of these Lovers shall be left to the Management of those who are well skil'd in that Matter, to whom we refer our selves.

A Portuguese hang'd. The *Portuguese* were much griev'd at this Disaster, as being Publick, and the King was so incens'd, that one of them having accidentally kill'd a Horse he had a great Value for, he caus'd him to be Hang'd, without hearkning to any thing thar could be said for him. This gain'd *Cachil Mole* so generally the Affections of all Men, that tho' *Cachil Cota* was Elder, and Son to the principal Queen, by them call'd *Putriz*, under colour that the latter was a Friend to the King of *Ternate*, and about to contract Affinity with him, the other gain'd the greater Party, which advanc'd him to Succeed in the Throne of *Tydore*, as we shall soon see.

Nayque returns to Ternate. The *Portuguese* Galeons arrived at *Malaca*, and in them *Cachil Naique* returning from *Spain*, and having stay'd there some Months for the *Monsons*, he had a good Voyage, and arrived safe at *Ternate*, when he had by the way sollicitated the *Javanese*, and the People of *Achem* and *Borneo*, not to admit of the *Spanish* Domination. He brought no acceptable Answer from King *Philip*, and found the King who had employ'd him Dead, and in his Place another, so different from the Former, that he entertain'd no Thoughts of restoring the Forts to the *Portuguese*, but on the contrary, aim'd at casting off all Obedience, and obliterating their Name. To this effect he Confederated with the *English*, who, with other Northern Nations, Lorded it in the Island. Five Leagues from it lay at Anchor an *English* Ship, waiting for two others that came out with her. They Anchor'd in the Port, and went ashore, as if they had been in *London*, being well receiv'd by the *Sultan*, with whose Leave they settled a Factory in the

the City, where they left Officers, who under the name of Trade, were more absolute Masters of it than the Natives. They dispers'd to gather in the Clove for the Goods they brought to Barter; and on the 21st. of *August* dispatch'd their Ships, loaded with that Spice, and with those Nuts they call of *Molucco*, and excellent Preserves of them both. In these Ships went Embassadors to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to the Prince of *Orange*, carrying Presents suitable to those Persons, of the most valuable Things in *India*. They were order'd to offer the Queen his Kingdome in Vassalage, and his Friendship to the Prince of *Orange*. The Advantage of these Embassies afterwards appear'd; yet he did not on that Account give any hopes of Restoring Christianity; for besides that the Persecution grew more violent, he had at that time brought over into his Kingdome, a great number of *Mahome-*
Arabian and *Persian* false Prophets, all of them *Mahomet's* Priests and Mi-
nist'ers, to strengthen that Sect. Besides, being inform'd by his Spies, That *tan Prea-*
it was given out in the *Philippine* Islands, That they would make War on *chers at*
him that way, and that in *Spain* the King promis'd the Union of the two *Ternate.*
Crowns should produce the Conjunction of their Power and Arms, for the punishing of disobedient Tyrants, he slighted no Alliance, nor contemn'd the Weakest Enemy. For this Reason, he gave Entertainment, and allow'd the planting of Colonies to *Europeans*, and Leagued with *Idolaters* and *Mahometans*, who hate *Spain*, as their common Enemy. The *English* Ships now frequented *India*, facilitating the Passage, and shewing an Example to the *French* and *Dutch*, which encourag'd them all to venture out far from their Countries, and seek for Treasure in strange ones.

Sultan Capabaguna did not long enjoy his Liberty at *Tydore*. He was King of
taken ill at an Entertainment. Some believe he had a slow Poison given *Ternate*
him; because he was very moderate in Eating, and those motions of his *dies.*
Arms, the gnashing of his Teeth, and losing of his Senses, which attend the Falling-Sickness, and are Symptoms of Apoplexies, could not naturally proceed from his Temperate way of Living; but are always caused by much Excess, which Occasions this violent Distemper. He came to himself after that first Fit, but his Vigour wasted, and he linger'd on to the end of his Life. *Cachil Cotta* should have Succeeded him, but they were suspicious of his Correspondence with the *Ternates*; and they all so openly favour'd his Brother *Cachil Mole*, that there was not the least Difficulty made about the Succession. He often remember'd his Fathers unfortunate Death, and in Regard that this raging Desire of Revenge, might prove instrumental for the Recovery of *Ternate*; as soon as his Uncle Dy'd, which was on the 24th of *April* 1599, the *Portuguese* Commander in Chief, *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyrao* repair'd to his Palace, and by Means of the *Portu-*
guese Power and Arms, caused *Cachil Mole* to be sworn King, as being a *Cachil*
most faithful Friend to his Nation, and no less an Enemy to the *Ternates.* *Mole King*
He immediatly dispatch'd Captain *Palma* with this News to *Manila*, and *of Tydore.*
with it an Account of the *Molucco* Islands, of their Neighbours, and of their Preparations; because they were then providing in the *Philippine* Islands for this War, to extirpate this Receptacle of Sects, where all sorts of Apostasies are admitted, and particularly the vile Doctrines of *Mahomet*. Ever since the Year 1555. when the *Dutch* enter'd those Seas, they have

not, till this Time, ceas'd bringing in Sectaries, and Captains of Pyrates; These Men carry away the Wealth of *Asia*, and in Lieu of it leave behind them that false Doctrine, which renders the Conversion of so many Souls Fruitless.

Moluccos
sighted at
Coa.

The Forgetfulness, or Contempt the Governours of *India* shew'd for the *Molucco* Islands, seem'd fatal; since they refus'd, or with-held the usual Succours, abandoning the Commanders, and Forts, for so many Years, as if they had not been in the World. This was not remedy'd by the Union of the Crowns of *Spain* and *Portugal*; on the contrary, the great Success of the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Legaspe*, in the Islands *Luzones*, which he call'd *Philippines*, being known in *Spain*, King *Philip* the 11d. thought fit as we shall soon see, that the *Molucco* Islands, and Parts adjacent, whither he was Zealous to send Evangelical Preachers, should be sensible of the Advantage of his Neighbouring Empire. This was speedily order'd, and tho' the Effects were not sutable, by Reason of the many Accidents great Undertakings are liable to, yet Time has shown how convenient it was to fix that Resolution. For the better understanding of the Reasons on which it was grounded; since one of them proceeded from the various Disposition, Qualities, and Interests of the Nations throughout those Seas and Lands; it will be absolutely necessary in this Place to make them known, before we come to Particulars.

Relief order'd from
the Phi-
lippines,
and why.

Descripti-
on of Chi-
na.

The Country of the *Sina*, whom we call *Chineses*, is the uttermost of the Continent of *Asia*. On the East and South it is encompass'd by the Ocean, which the Ancients call'd *Sericus*. On the West, it reaches to the Borders of the farther *India*; and on the North to those of the *Massagetes* and *Scythians*. Their Ancient Annals, Writings and Traditions informs us, that the *Chineses* extended their Empire much further. This is verifi'd by the Remains of sumptuous Structures; and not only in Ruins, wherein their former Magnificence is still apparent, but even in Cities, which Time has preserv'd, tho' not inhabited, and yet to be seen in the Provinces they have excluded their Limits. There are many which take there Denomination, and own their Original from *China*. For that immense Empire finding it self labouring under its own Power, and overburden'd with its Magnitude, like a judicious Patient, to prevent more Harm, it breath'd the Veins, and brought down the Redundancy of the Body. The same we read the *Carthagenians* did, when in the like Condition, and for the same Reasons. It confin'd it self to a narrower Compass, proportionable to the Extent of humane Providence, that so their Prince's Light might reach to shine over, and be communicated to them; which cannot be, when the Circumference is too great for the Darting of the Beams. They publish'd indispensable Decrees against such as go out of *China*, without leave from the Magistrates. They abandon'd vast Provinces, which being left expos'd to Tyranny, and Infidelity, after tedious Wars, submitted to the most Potent. Hence the Kings of *India* took their Original, being oblig'd never to lay down their Arms, nor keep any Faith, so to support themselves one against another, till a greater Power subdues them.

Chineses
contract
their Em-
pire.

15 King-
doms in
China.

In *China* they reckon 15 maritime Kingdoms, or Provinces of an extraordinary Extent, with each its Metropolis, or Capital; the rest are up the Inland.

In and. The most Part of it lies within temperate Climates, and receives into its pure and open Bosome the Sun's vital Rays, having a healthful, and serene pleasant Air. This favourable Disposition renders it so fruitful, *Fertility,* that it yearly yields two or three Crops. The great Industry of the Tillers, *Air, Popu-* is a considerable Addition to its Fertility. The Number of them is infinite, being a People that daily multiply exceedingly, because they are forbid going into Foreign Countries. Neither is any among such a numerous Multitude of Men allow'd to live idle Idleness is not only exposed to private Contempt, and the Scoffs of Neighbours, but punish'd by *Idleness* publick Custome and Law. Thus the Peasants leave not the least Spot of *punish'd.* Ground untill'd. The Hills and deep Bottoms produce Vines and Pine-Trees; the Plains, Rice, Barley, Wheat, and other common Grain. Tho' they do not press the Grapes for the Wine, as we do, yet they keep them to eat; and of the Herb call'd *Chia*, they make a wholesome hot Liquor. *Produce,* This they drink, as do the *Japoneses*, and it preserves them from Colds, *Tea.* Head-Aches, Rheums in the Eyes, and makes them live long and healthy. Some Parts of the Country want Olive-Trees, but they are not destitute of other Plants, which yield a Liquor to anoint them. There is a perpetual Abundance of Pasture, Fruits, Flowers, and all the Products of Gardens. There are many Navigable Rivers, carrying Ships of great Burden, and full of excellent Fish; the Banks cover'd with perpetual Greens, *Rivers,* spacious Harbours, and a Trade in them of all Things necessary for humane *Ports, &c.* Life. The Fowl are of various colour'd Feathers, and pleasant and nourishing to eat; great Numbers of large Deer; vast Lakes, Woods and Mountains, and Mines of Gold, Silver, Iron, and other Metals; besides Pearls and precious Stones. Its Purcelane, or Earthen Ware, is not to be imitated in the World; and it affords rich Furs against the Cold, Silks, Wooll, Cotton, and Flax; nor is there any End of its Sugar, Honey, Amber, Vermilion, and Lake. Musk, whereof no mention is found among *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, is more plentiful in *China* than in other Parts.

The People are most passionately addicted to Delight, and Lasciviousness. They alone always sell all Things; they buy nothing that Nature or Art affords, either for Sustenance, or Cloathing, except some Perfumes for their Cloaths, and Pepper out of *India*; nor would there be any Place for Foreign Trade, did not an insatiable Avarice of Gold and Silver predominate among the *Chineses*. What they draw out of the Bowels of the Mines, they conceal as carefully as if it were still in them; and even that they bring from remote Provinces, they heap up, and bury. Their publick and private Structures would make up a Narration of extraordinary Length. We are told of 200 Cities of an extraordinary Magnitude, and many more of inferior Degree, besides Towns, Castles, *Cities.* and Villages, containing above 3000 Families each, built of Bricks made of the same Clay as our Purcelane, or *China* Ware, and these encompass'd with continu'd Woods, Springs and Rivers. In all these there are Towers with stately Pinnacles, Pleasure-Houses, and Temples, tho' hideously painted, yet costly, with Variety of deform'd Images, through which the Devils give their Answers. But these are not in all Parts, for many of them know no God, nor Religion. Life, they say, was from Eternity common.

common to, and alike in all living Creatures. That at first Men drank humane Blood, and eat raw Meat. That afterwards the Use of Reason provided for Necessity, and Pleasure; inventing the Ways of dressing, and seasoning Meat at the Fire, in Vessels and other Utensils. The same, they say, happen'd in Regard to Man's Nakedness. So that Man is indebted to himself alone for what he enjoys, and therefore whosoever lay'd on him the Burden of Religion, and the owning of a Cause Superior to Nature, only aim'd at the dejecting him, and exercising a Tyranny over his Liberty. With these impious Notions, and destructive Atheism, they oppose their Eternal Salvation, which our Arms, and our Preachers invite them to. They only regard Generation; but not without Distinction. Lawful Matrimony entitles Women to be Mistresses of their Families. The Matrons value themselves upon being highly Chast. Concubines are kept in Houses apart. They do not want for Plays, and such Representations; and they delight in seeing their Traditions, whether true or fabulous, acted on the Stage. They use Entertainments, and have Tables and Chairs of *Ebony*, and other precious Materials; as also Shipping, Shows, Carts, Horse-Litters, and the Exercise of Arms, and Riding.

It were no difficult Matter to give an Account here of their private Customs and Manners, were they to our Purpose. Something shall be said of the Publick and Political, for the better Understanding of some Things that happen'd in the *Philippine* Islands, from whence the Recovery of the *Moluccos*, in our Times, had its Beginning. They call their great Men *Loyttes*, from among whom the King chuses his Judges and Counsellors. There is almost an infinite Number of inferiour Magistrates, who exercise the Regal Power and Authority, even in the most inconsiderable Cases. In every Town there are five, that have the greatest Power, and these are Strangers in the Place, that they may be free from Partiality. The Head of them all, is call'd *Tutan*, being the same as a Viceroy in *Europe*. The next in Dignity is the *Poncasio*, who has Charge of the King's Taxes, and Royal Treasure, with a great Number of Clerks, and other Officers; and he pays all Salaries and Pensions. Next follows the *Ancasio*, who is chief Justice, in Criminal Cases of Consequence. The *Aitan* has the Inspection of all Martial Affairs, he musters the Armies, builds the Ships, and his principal Duty is to observe the Guards, that no Stranger may pass into the Inland Country. The *Luitisio* is next to the *Aitan* in Dignity, and is to be expert in War, in which he is employ'd by the *Aitan*. I know there are other Magistrates, and their Names and Dignities, which I must pass over in Silence. All of them except the *Luitisio*, keep great State. There are ten chosen Persons of the Council, tho' not equal in Authority. Five of them sit on the Right, the others on the Left. The King often thrusts in among the Judges and Parties in Disguize, to pry into the Causes, and their Decisions, and be certainly inform'd of both. When he thinks fit, he sometimes makes himself known; and the Moment he discovers himself, they all stand Mute, full of Respect and Astonishment, listening to what he shall command. Then he commends or reproves either Party, and rewards, or punishes before he departs the Court. His *Mandarines*, and Prime Ministers are so highly respected, that no Man dares look them in the Face, and they always look

so Stern, that it would be thought a great Disorder to lose the least of their Gravity, tho' it were but with a modest Smile. This they observe, when they pass thro' the Streets, in Sight of the People. The greatest Honour among them is to wear a Cymiter with a gold Pommel, and a yellow Hat.

When the President of the Council Dies, the eldest Judge succeeds him. These go Circuits thro' the Provinces, and reform Abuses, and all of them wear the King's Badge on their Shoulders, and Breasts, being a Golden Dragon wove in the Cloth. When they go these Progresses, they save, or lessen the Charge by circumscribing the State. When first elected, at their taking Possession of their Posts, they generally go out attended by Troops of Horse and Foot, with all Sorts of Musick, and Splendour. Their Pomp appears in the Hanging, and other Ornaments of the Streets and Houses. All the expence of Law Suits, Courts, and other Perquisites is allow'd out of the King's Exchequer. The *Mandarines* are Governors, and Viceroyes. In *China* there are no Dukes, Marquesses, or Earls, nor do they own any Dignity, but what is deriv'd from the King's Authority. Though in the Parts next to *Scythia*, or *Tartary*, some People are *Mahometans*; yet in all others they are either Idolaters, or look upon the Notion of a God as a meer Jest. They believe the Life and Death of Men and Beasts are alike. There is nothing they are more attentive to, than the obstructing of any foreign Religion, and this under the politick Pretence, that they are jealous of Innovation. But above all they oppose the true Religion, hating that they know nothing of; and are as much afraid of it, as if its Ministers went arm'd to preach it, and with the Noise of Drums, and Trumpets, and regular Armies. They are frighted at a few bare-foot, and almost naked Men who profess Poverty, and preach up Morality, and supernatural Virtues, grounded on Humility and Peace. They have such an Aversion for them, that were it proper to our Subject, or were there not printed Relations thereof already, we would recount several Instances, to show their unreasonable Hatred. Hence may be inferr'd, how much more Need of the special Grace of Heaven these Nations stand in, with those in the Neighbourhood, which are expos'd to the Infection and Danger of their Obstinacy. The Reader ought also to consider, that tho sometimes, the Avarice, and other Crimes of our Commanders, and Soldiers interfere with the Preaching of the Gospel, yet their Offences do not lessen the Justice of the Cause. He is also to reflect, that, allowing his Majesty, for weighty Reasons of State should, as we have said was propos'd, resolve to abandon those Parts of *Asia*, as the *Chineses* did, and circumscribe the Compass of his Monarchy; yet the Cause of Religion would not permit it. Our Kings are its Ministers, and Sons of the Catholick Church, and any War made for the Propagation of the Gospel, is of the greatest Consequence, and highly gainful, tho' it be to acquire, or recover desert Provinces. Besides that the *Philippine* Islands have shown us how tractable their Natives are, and how much they improve with the Example, and Society of the *Spaniards*, and how affectionately they have imbrac'd the Faith, and assist the Religious Men, who dilate, and carry it over into *China*, *Japan*, *Cambodia*, *Mindanan*, the *Moluccos*, and other Islands, where still Idolatry continues, or the Friendship with the Devils left them by their aptient Masters, when they excluded them

Judge.

Religion.

them their Dominions, or else the *Mahometan* Fictions, which they have since imbrac'd.

*Rumours
of Chinese
Invasions.*

This is the Principal End of keeping those Provinces; and the Revenues and Wealth which is consum'd upon them, and several others, are laid out upon the Forces, and Preparations *Spain* makes for the Preaching and Security of the Ministers of the Church. Besides, that as Times have alter'd, so they have often in *China* chang'd their Opinion, and shew'd they repented their having diminish'd their Empire. No Year passes over without Threats of *Chinese* Armies; of their Lifting Men; of building Ships; of their solemn consecrating, or dedicating them to their carv'd Gods, or to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, which are ador'd in some Parts, begging Success in their vain Prayers against the *Spaniards*, who are possess'd of those Countries they abandon'd, thro' their own Indiscretion. This short Account of the *Chineses*, or *Sangleys*, is here inserted, for the better understanding of those Actions we shall soon treat of. They not only oppose the Truth; but tho' they are wholly addicted to their Interest, and Slaves to Gain, and tho' it be so absolutely requisite for the attaining of those Ends through their Industry and Trade, to maintain Amity with their Neighbours, yet there is nothing less to be reliy'd on than their Faith, or to give it a more proper Name, their Dissimulation. Happy those People, if when *China* withdrew its Dominion, it had also with drawn the Errors of its Worship.

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. V.

THE Islands *Luzones*, or *Manilas*, which are both of them ancient Names, having been discover'd by *Magellan*; after his Death, and various Accidents befallen his Companions, *Sebastian Cano* return'd to *Spain* in that renowned Ship, call'd the *Victory*, as it were to express her Voyage, which is not so likely as true.

Sebastian Cano, was born in the Town of *Guetaria*, on the *Pyrenean Mountains*, as we are told by *Maffaus*, in his *Latin History*, where he extols *Cano's* mighty Resolution, and skill in the Art of Navigation. He tells us with what Respect and Admiration all Men look'd on him, as the first that went round this Globe, which is the Habitation of Mortals. And in Truth what value shall we henceforward put upon the Fabulous *Argonauts*, *Tiphys*, *Jason*, and all other Sailers, so much celebrated by the *Greek Eloquence*, or Vanity, if compar'd with our *Cano*? He was the first Witness of the Communication of the two Seas, to whom Nature disclos'd what she had till then reserv'd for his Discovery, suffering herself to be entirely lay'd open, as a Beginning of such Bold Enterprizes of that Law which serves, and renders us Immortal.

Magellan being dead, the Islands *Lufones*, which ought to have inherited his Name for being his Place of Burial, as the Streight did for his discovering and passing it, in the year 1565, chang'd theirs for that of *Philippines*, tho' those of that Eastern *Archipelago* bear the same. The *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant *Michael de Legaspe*, sent from *New-Spain*, by the Viceroy *Don Lewis de Velasco*, with a *Spanish Fleet* arriv'd at these Islands. He first conquer'd that of *Zebu*, and its Neighbours, where he spent six Years. These Islands, as there are several Names given to divers of those Parts, are call'd *Pintados*, because then the *Indians* went naked, and their Bodies wrought and painted of several Colours. He left a Garrison there,

Sebastian Cano the first that sail'd round the World.

Islands Luzones call'd Philippines.

Legaspe the first Conqueror

Luzon and went over to possess himself of *Luzon*, 150 Leagues from *Zebu*. He fought the Barbarians, who after the first Surprise, caus'd by our Arms, Ships, and Countenances, differing from theirs, was over, were encourag'd by that very Novelty. *Legaspe* ran into a Bay, four Leagues over at the Mouth, where is an Island now call'd *Marivelez*. The Bay runs thirty Leagues up to the City *Manila*, and is eight Leagues over, lying North-West, and South-East. The Inhabitants of this City oppos'd him with more Bravery than the *Pintados*; because they had Cannon, and a Fort, but as soon as they saw that taken by the *Spaniards*, they submitted. This was done so expeditiously that the Country had not time to come in; and thus he enter'd *Manila*, a Place strong by Nature. At a Point of it, which is shut in by the Waters of the Bay, a considerable River empties it self, which rises in the Great Lake call'd *Vay*, five Leagues Distant. This Point which at first is narrow and sharp, presently widens, because the Sea-coast runs away to the South South-East, and the River West, leaving a most spacious Spot for the City, which is all encompass'd with Water, except that part which lyes to the South-West. *Legaspe* then built it of Wood, whereof there is great plenty in those parts. The Roofs he cover'd, or Thatch'd with the Leaves of *Nipa*, which is like our Sedge, or Sword-Grass, and a sufficient Fence against the Rains; but a Combustible Matter, and the occasion of Great Conflagrations, which have often hapned.

Manila
City.

Luzon
Island de-
scrib'd.

Luzon is more Populous than any of the other Islands, which in Honour of King *Philip* the Second, were call'd *Philippines*, and which some affirm are in Number 11000. The Compass of *Luzon* is 350 Leagues. It runs without the Bay 100 Leagues to the Northward, as far as *New Segovia*; and from where this Province commences, which is at Cape *Bojador*, and 70 Leagues from it, turns to the Eastward, to the Promontory *del Enganno*; from thence along the Coast to the South, 80 Leagues; then turning again to that they call *Embocadero*, or the Mouth, being the Streight against the Island *Tandaya*, 40 Leagues, and this is 80 from the Bay. So that it bears the shape of a Square, and in it several Bays, and few good Harbours. It lyes in 160 Degrees Longitude, reckoned from the *Canaries*, the Southermost Part in 14 Degrees of North Latitude, and the Northermost in 19. On that Side of it lyes *China*, separated from it by the Sea 60 Leagues over; and the Islands of *Japan*, 250 Leagues distant. On the East is the Vast Ocean; on the South is the greatest of all the *Archipelagos*, divided into five, and those again rent into so many Islands, Kingdoms, and Provinces, as if Nature had resolv'd that Man should never determine their Number. The most known are the two *Javar*, our *Moluccos*, *Borneo*, and *New Guinea*. On the West of *Luzon*, at 300 Leagues, and greater Distances, lye *Malaca*, *Siam*, *Patan*, *Camboxa*, *Cochin-china*, and several other Provinces on the Continent of *Asia*. The *Chineses* forsook their Habitations in our *Philippine* Islands, but not the Trade. Neither did the Worship they had introduc'd cease, nor their Fertility. They produce plenty of Corn, and other necessary Grain; Deer, Cows, Buffaloes, Goats, and Wild Boars; Fruit, and Sweets; and if any be wanting the *Chincheo Chineses* bring it, as they do Porcelane, and Silks. The Wine they use, and always drank, is drawn from the Palm, or rather *Coco Trees*, cutting off the Clusters of the Fruit they produce, when Green,

Product,
and Trade.

and

and taking off the Nipples of them, they gather the Water that runs from them, and Boil it in Jars, till it becomes so strong, that it makes Men drunk, in the same manner as the strongest *Spanish* Wine. Of its Natural Growth, the Island has Oranges, Lemmons, and most delicious Citrons; of *Spanish* Fruit, Figs, and Pears. There are Numerous Breeds of Sparrow-Hawks, Birds like small Herons, and Eagles, besides sundry Sorts of Parrots, and other large and small Fowl. In the Rivers and Lakes there are many Monstrous Crocodils, or Alligators. These easily kill the *Indians*, and especially Boys, who happen unadvisedly to come where they are, and the Cattle that goes into the Water to drink. It often happens, they lay hold of their Snouts, or Noses, and draw them under Water, where they are drown'd, without being able to defend themselves; then they drag the Carcass to the Shore, and devour it. An Alligator being kill'd a whole Buffaloes Head has been found some times in the Belly, and yet in that Country they are as big as the largest Ox in *Spain*. The Alligators lay Eggs as the Tortoises do, about the bigness of Goose-Eggs, and so hard that they will scarce break, tho' struck against a Stone with main Force. They are Hatch'd by burying in the Sand, near the edge of the Water; the moisture whereof, with the Heat of the Sun forms the young Ones. There are some *Indians* so brave, that as fierce as these Creatures are, they kill them with their Hands. They arm the left up to the Arm with a Glove of Buffalo's Hide. They hold in it a Stick, or small Stake, somewhat above a Foot long, and as thick as a Man's Wrist, and sharpened at both Ends, with which they go into the Water up to the Waste: The Crocodile makes up to the *Indian*, gaping to swallow him, and he holding out his Arm that is arm'd, and the Hand with the Stake in it, for the Monster to bite at, claps it across his Mouth, so that he cannot shut it, or make use of his Teeth to hurt him. The Alligator feeling the hurt of the sharp pointed Stick, is so dismayed that he neither makes resistance, nor offends, nor dares so much as move, because the least struggling gauls him. Then the *Indian* holding fast the Stake, with a Ponyard he has in his other Hand, Wounds the Creature so often about the Gills, till it bleeds to Death. Then he drags it ashore with Ropes and Noozes, many *Indians* joyning to draw, and there is need of many, considering the Bulk of those Crocodiles. They are shap'd like Lizards, but arm'd with such strong Shells, that a Musket-shot makes little Impression on them, and they are scarce to be hurt, but only about the Gills, and under their short Legs, where Nature has plac'd a sort of sweet Odour, which the *Indians* make their Advantage of. These Islands, besides the Cartel, produce all that is found in *Africk*, as Tygers, Lions, Bears, Foxes, Monkeys, Apes, Squirrels, and some of them Abundance of Civet-Cats, which are much Hunted, in order to be sent into several Countries, with other Commodities of *China*; Callicoes, Silks, Porcelane, Iron, Copper, Steel, Quicksilver, and many more Yearly Transported from those Countries. The Religion and Government is now the same as in *Spain*; but in those which are not yet subdu'd, they follow an Extravagant Idolatry; believing the Soul Immortal, but wandering from one Body to another, according to that ridiculous Transmigration invented or publish'd by *Pythagoras*. They are much addic'ted to Trade, and forwarded in it by the Commerce

Birds.

Alligators

How the
Indians
fight the
Alligators.

Beasts.

Commodi-
ties.

with *China*. The *Philippine* People are braver than their Neighbours ; the *Spaniards* and their Breed do not degenerate from their Original.

Ronquillo's Preparations for the Moluccos.

The Forces sent under Sarmiento.

Paul de Lima rich in the Moluccos.

Don John Ronquillo join'd with Sarmiento.

Spaniards arrive at and take Moutil.

An Army was now forming of all these Sorts of People, by Order of the King, to attempt recovering the Forts of the *Moluccos*. *Don Ronquillo de Pennalosa* was then Governour there; and tho' he had receiv'd some Intelligence brought him thence by Spies and Traders, yet not satisfy'd with it, he sent thither another Soldier. He disguised himself, and being like the Natives in Countenance, and speaking their Language to Perfection, got to *Tydore*. He found our People very earnest to forward that Enterprize, and that King ready to support it with all his Power. Thence he pass'd over to *Ternate*, among Merchants, where he view'd the Forts, the Shoals of the Harbours ; observ'd their Correspondence with the *English*, and took notice how they Landed, and Traded in all Safety, or rather with Authority. Nor was he unacquainted with the Numbers of conceal'd Christians, who would take up Arms when a seasonable Opportunity was offer'd, or any other Particular, which belong'd to a Judicious Spy to enquire into. Hereupon *Ronquillo* gather'd about 300 *Spaniards*, and above 1500 Natives of the *Philippines*, with Ammunition, Provisions, and Seamen, and at the proper Season sent them for the *Moluccos* in three Great Ships, and a considerable Number of Small Ones. *Peter Sarmiento*, a brave and experienc'd Officer, still living in those Islands, when this was writ, went as General. He had Courage, and Force to destroy any of the Enemies that then frequented those Seas. His Majesty had some time before bestow'd the Government of *Ternate*, if it were Conquer'd, on *Paul de Lima* ; and allow'd his Brother *Francis de Lima* to make two Voyages to the *Moluccos*, in Consideration of their Services, and those of *Henry* their Father. *Paul* was Marry'd to a Christian, and devout Lady, tho' a Kinswoman to the King of *Ternate*, who was not so. For this Reason, and because he had been possess'd in *Ternate*, of the ancient Inheritance of the Villages of *Guita*, *Mofaquia*, *Mofaguita*, *Pavate*, *Pelveri*, *Sansuma*, *Takane*, *Mayloa*, and *Soma* ; and in the Island of *Michian* of *Sabele*, *Talapao*, *Talatoa*, *Mofabonana*, *Tabaloga*, *Tagono*, *Bobaba*, and *Molapa* ; and in Regard the King of *Ternate*, had expell'd him most of them, as also of *Bitua* in *Tydore*, and several other Places, he went over to *Manila*, as a Banish'd Man, where he confer'd with the Governour, about the means of facilitating the Conquest, just before it was put in Execution. His Advice was of use, and he gave it, as one so nearly concern'd ; for besides the Inheritance the King of *Ternate* wrongfully with-held from him, he hop'd to recover the Island of *Moutil*, which belong'd to his Forefathers. The Enterprize was farther Authoriz'd by the Presence of *Don John Ronquillo*, the Governour's Nephew, who had equal Power with *Sarmiento*, both by Sea and Land. If any thing was wanting, they thought the Defect would easily be supply'd by the Valour of the Soldiers, the Celerity of the Passage, and the Enemies Surprise ; but the divided Command was an Obstacle to their Hopes.

The Weather prov'd not very cross, yet neither was it so favourable, as that they could come directly to anchor at *Ternate*, as would have been most convenient to deceive the Watchfulness of the Enemy. They arriv'd at *Moutil*, and fought a Parcel of *Janguas* in Sight of Land ; which were

were taken, and the Christians in them set at Liberty. *Paul de Lima* being well acquainted with the Bays, and there being no sufficient Force in the Island to withstand a Fleet, it easily submitted, when attack'd in several Parts. The Natives came out with Palm, Citron, and Clove-Tree Branches, in Token of Peace, and to beg Pardon. Both were granted, and *Paul de Lima* appointed their Lord, tho' his New Dominion turn'd to little Account, for within a few Days, all the People slipp'd away, either because they thought themselves safer at *Ternate*, or to meet the Enemy, who of Necessity must carry the War over into that Island, as it happen'd. Here *Sarmiento* refitted the Ships, and being over-joy'd with this Success, obtain'd without the Loss of one Man, arriv'd at *Talangame*, passing amidst the Enemies *Carcoas*, which they had fitted out in a Hurry. The King expected him long before in the Fort, well furnish'd with our Cannon, particularly the Bastion they had enlarg'd, and call'd *Cachil Tulo*, from the King's Uncle, who made it, and these Preparations seem'd to threaten any Disaster. Our Men landed on that Side, and were oppos'd by the *Ternates*; but Night put an End to the Fight, and both Parties retiring to their Fastnesses, our Cannon was landed, and planted in the Place, and after such Manner as *Paul de Lima* directed, and ever since he commanded it in the Fort of *Tydore*. The King of this Island was willing to joyn our Camp, as had appear'd by some of his Actions, and his Promises to the Ensign *Duennas*; but he mistrusted the Fortune of the *Spaniards*, as if he had not had sufficient Experience of it. The Opportunity and Fidelity now invited him, and yet he forbore; his Doubtfulness is thought to have been prejudicial to the Success. *Sarmiento* having planted his Cannon, intrench'd himself, and taking some Prisoners, of whom he learn'd what Provisions and Amunition the Besieged had, began to press on, and batter them furiously; yet they were not discourag'd, but answer'd boldly. It was found convenient to possess the upper Grounds, which over-looking the Place, tho' they have been since levell'd, our Men much incommoded the Enemy, and had they continu'd it, that would have put an End to the War. However there was so much Sicknesh in the Camp, that no Remedy was found against it, but going off so to save themselves for a more favourable Season. The Succours which came as Duties from *Tydore*, were very inconsiderable; the Allies were cold, and all Things weak; what other Causes there were Heaven knows. It is likely there were some of more Moment, for in short the Army broke up, and reembark'd for *Manila*, without doing any thing but adding to the Enemies Resolution.

Sarmiento in Ternate.

King of Tydore dubious.

Fort of Ternate battered.

The Siege raised.

At that Time, only the *English* Nation disturb'd the *Spanish* Sovereignty in those Eastern Parts; for this Reason, King *Philip* was desirous, not only for the present to curb them by Force of Arms, but to make them an Example to all other Nations, that they might not spread themselves abroad to attempt such Invasions, as we are Eye-Witnesses to. This Work was undertaken in the Year 1588, but first happen'd what we are now to relate. Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, after a tedious Imprisonment, beheaded *Mary Stuart*, Queen of *Scotland*, for some Politick Reasons, or Fictions. The then King of *Scotland*, and since of *England* also, Son to the Martyr, arm'd his People, strengthen'd his Garrisons, and invaded the Dominions of the Enemy, who had caus'd him to be Motherless; and

State of Affairs in Europe.

more

Queen Elizabeth's Practices.

more particularly the Marches about the River *Tweed*, and those of *Anandale*, water'd by the River *Solway*. The Queen call'd Home the Earl of *Leicester*, who was in *Holland*, appointed him General, and War broke out in all those Northern Provinces, with apprehensions of greater to ensue. After many Events, which do not belong to this Place, Queen *Elizabeth* strengthened her Alliance with the *Dutch*, encouraging those Provinces to persist in their Disobedience to the Church, and to King *Philip*, and advising them, since the King had forbid them trading in all the Rest of his Dominions, to go over into *India*, there to raise Commotions, and rob him of the Spice. The more safely to compass her Designs, she supported the *Flemings* Obstinacy, flattering herself with the Hopes of a new Monarchy, for the acquiring whereof, she propos'd to make use of the Wealth yearly brought from the North and South Seas, for *Spain*, the Robbing of which had already made an Addition to her Power; as also of the Factories erected for Trade in the *Moluccos*, *Banda*, *Sumatra*, *Ceylon*, and the two *Javas*; where she kept Garrisons, in order to convert the Friendship into Sovereignty.

King Philip's mighty Fleet.

And Army against England.

King *Philip*, whose great Soul ever entertain'd both Forbearance, and Counsel, resolv'd to cut off the Heads of this *Hydra* at the Neck they all sprung from. He gather'd, for the Conquest of *England*, the mightiest Fleet that has been seen on the Ocean in our Days. Twenty Thousand fighting Men were put aboard tall Ships, besides 9000 Sailors, with 1730 Pieces of Cannon, Abundance of Ammunition, and Pikes and Fire-Arms for the Catholics, who it was hop'd, as soon as they saw the *Spanish* Colours, would joyn our Army. *Don Alonso Perez de Guzman*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia* commanded in Chief, and was to joyn the Prince of *Parma*, then Governour of *Flanders*, who had Commission to raise another Army of 30000 Horse and Foot, with the Necessary Provisions and Ammunition, which he was to transport at a fit Season to that Point of *England*, where the *Thames* falls into the Sea, to march thence to *London*, and there Arm the Catholics. But it was first requisite to beat the *English* at Sea, where they were then powerful, and well acquainted with the proper Times to sail and keep at Home. At the least they were to be terrify'd, that they might not dare to obstruct the Passage of the Troops, the Prince of *Parma* had in readiness at *Dunkirk* and *Newport*, or hinder their embarking, when the *Spanish* Fleet should come thither to wait them over. this Fleet sail'd from *Lisbon* on the 29th of *May*, 1588, and as soon as out suffer'd much by the Weather, so that three Gallies were cast away, on the Coast of *Bayonne*. Abundance of the Powder blew up; and the General was oblig'd to return to *Corunna*, to refit; whence he could not get out till the 2d of *July*.

They suffer by Storms.

Arrive at the Lizard.

Spanish Shipmaster.

Being come into 48 Degrees of Latitude, he sent away *Don Lewis de Guzman* to give Advice to the Prince of *Parma*, and on the last of the same Month arriv'd himself at the *Lizard*, in *Cornwall*, where he lay by, and was certainly inform'd, that all the Enemy's Ships, being fifty in number, lay in *Plymouth*. The *English* Admiral at Break of Day discover'd ours, and tho' he wanted neither Strength, nor Experience in Sea Affairs, resolv'd to draw off and avoid engaging, but his Ships being ligged up in the Rear. In the Catholick Fleet, a great Ship

blew up, and another of *Andaluzia* spent her Main-Mast, in which Distress, two *English* Ships attacking her, and those afterwards seconded by others, in one of which Sir *Francis Drake* was, they took her. There *Don Pedro de Valdes*, a *Spanish* Commander of known Valour, and then Lieutenant General, was made Prisoner, with whom they sent to *Plymouth*, a great Quantity of Crown Pieces, and fifty Great Guns. About 400 *Spaniards* were kill'd, and taken. On the 2d and 4th of *August*, the Lord *Howard*, and *Drake* joyn'd their Squadrons, some write they had an hundred Sail, all well Mann'd, and light, with which they infested ours, which were heavy, and encumber'd, particularly the *Portuguese* Galleon, call'd the *S. John*, being the greatest in the Fleet, and in it were *John Martinez de Recalde*, the Count *de Paredes*, the Marques *de la Favara*, and other Commanders of Note. However they got to the Isle of *Wight*, whence the Duke sent away two Messengers to the Prince of *Parma*, who was then at *Brussels*, desiring he would furnish him with Powder and Ball, for the Defence of the Fleet, and imbarke what Troops he had ready. But he, either prevented by invincible Obstacles, or for other Reasons, which have left that Princes Reputation *Disap-* expos'd to Censures, mov'd so slowly, that what had been so maturely con- *pointment* certed took no Effect. The Enemy boasting, that the Sea and Winds had *of the Fleet* fought against us, in Vindication, as they said of their Cause, made publick Rejoycings, firing their Cannon; and soon after the Queen put forth a Proclamation to the same Effect, against which a certain *English* Religious Man writ learnedly, by the Name of *Andrew Philopator*.

The *Dutch* who were in Confederacy with Queen *Elizabeth*, seeing this Success, were encourag'd to aspire to greater Matters, renouncing their Religion, and their Sovereign, attempting to usurp the Treasures of the East, *The Dutch* Mines, Spice, Drugs, and Silks, as appears by their bold Voyages, wherein *aspire.* they have endeavour'd to follow the fresh Examples of the *English*, and the ancient set them by *Columbus*, *Albuquerque*, *Magellan*, *Gama*, and *Cortes*, as we shall see hereafter. But, both they and the *English*, if they try the Justice of their Cause by the Success of that Fleet, must be oblig'd to prefer the Cause of the Gentiles, when God for his Secret Judgments permitted his own chosen People to be over-thrown. Destruction is more glorious than Prosperity; and a religious Soul will rather chuse to be cast down than Victorious, if an angry God is to give it the Victory.

After this *Santiago de Vera* govern'd the *Philippine* Islands, and by special Order, arm'd against *Ternate*, where the *English* from that Time traded with all possible Security. All Nations had settled Factories except the *Javanese* and *Lascarines*. Above 2500 *Mahometans* from *Mecca* preach'd their Abominations. They fear'd nothing from *Portugal*, all their Apprehension was from the *Spaniards*, who were newly ingag'd to seek Revenge. The King of *Ternate* well knew that *Sarmiento* and *Ronquillo* would have taken it, had not Diseases prevented them. When the News of fresh Preparations came to *Tydore*, it was carry'd over by Spies to *Ternate*. That King presently call'd together his Subjects, especially the Islanders of *Machian* and *Homer*, who came in 40 Carcoas, because their Islands were very populous. The Number had been greater, but that the King would not suffer more to be fitted out than he demanded, for he could not conceal his Fear that they would rebel, those Parts being full of Chri- *King of* *Ternate* *prepares.* *stians,*

Spanish Fleet loses a great Galleon. stians, and the Taxes he laid on the People intolerable. *Santiago de Vera* appointed *John Morones* General, who wanted not for Conduct, nor his Men for Valour, nor the Fleet for Cannon and Ammunition. But whether Natural Ambition, or any other Accident was the Occasion of it, there were such Divisions among them, that they had sufficient Grounds to mistrust the Event, before they left *Manila*. They set sail with fair Weather, and pass'd the greatest Dangers of the Sea, and when they thought themselves safest, all the Elements seem'd to conspire against the Fleet. They lost the Light, and their Reckning, the Vessels were shatter'd, and the greatest of them sunk, and all the Men lost. This was the Galleon *S. Hellen*, which carry'd the Guns to batter the Fort, and many other Necessaries and Stores. For all this, they insisted upon proceeding, and the King of *Bachian* assisted them with what Forces he had rais'd, under Colour of clearing the Sea of some Enemies; and being a Christian baptiz'd, lamented his departing from our holy Faith, on Account of Persecution, and promis'd the Restitution of his Soul.

Spanish General refuses the best Advice. Besieges the Fort of Ternate. The Weather growing calm, when they were in Sight of *Ternate*, the *Carcons* durst not stand them, but fled at the first Discharges, which they can do without receiving any Damage. Therefore the two Kings, and *Paul de Lima*, advis'd to fall on in several Places. *Ferdinand Boto Machado*, Captain of a Galleon, was of the same Opinion; but the General suspecting the former, on Account of his Affinity, and the latter for the Friendship he had lately contracted with the King of *Tydore*, whom he was not well satisfy'd with, would not follow their Advice; alledging, That it was not convenient, by dividing the Forces, to weaken them more than the Storm had done. He laid Siege to the Fort, but the Besieged being acquainted with the Condition of our Troops, oppos'd all their Assaults courageously, and scoff'd and laugh'd at the insignificant Batteries. However our Men, whom the Storms had depriv'd of Necessaries for that Work, vented their Spleen upon the *Javanese*. These valu'd themselves upon falling out to Skirmish, being distinguishable by their Arms, and manner of drawing up. The *Spaniards* handled them so roughly, that they did little more during the War. Some Months were spent in Fruitless Attempts, and if they had attack'd the Country, but a Culverine-Shot short of the Fort, at the Bay of *Limathao*, and march'd thence to attack the Fort behind, as the most understanding desir'd, it had been of good Consequence. But the General *Morones*, putting all upon Experience without Forecast, was satisfy'd with fronting next the Sea, doing much Harm, which was caus'd by that first, and obstinate manner of attacking; and that gave Way for Succours to go into the Natives, at other landing Places, tho' thirty Men at a small Distance might have prevented it. This both the Kings maintain'd, whose Valour, which ought to be commended even in Enemies, if our General had pleas'd, might have given Success to this Undertaking. Besides that experience has shown that fifty *Spaniards* have done as much upon Occasion, as whole *Roman* Legions well arm'd and disciplin'd.

Sends some Men to the other Fort. *Morones* now perceiving that neither his Arms, nor his Proposals had any effect upon the Rebels, he resolv'd to pass over some of his Men against the other Fort, which, tho' seated on a Ground of difficult Access, seem'd to be pregnable, because built in Haste, a League from the for

Hill. On the Land Side of it is the Mountain, and on the Back a Lake, and is of no use, because it does not defend the City, which is open, and is only regarded for being near the old Fort. Our Men went on cheerfully, and the Defendants receiv'd them as well firing their Cannon, which gave a Check to the *Spanish* Fury. Those in the other Fort, tho' they made little use of Fire-Arms, being compell'd by Necessity, ventur'd to fall out to the Shore. To draw them to this Resolution, some of our Men on a sudden set Fire to the *Junks*, in which a great Number of *Javanese* Indians had come thither. The Vessels, which were old blaz'd up, without any Obstruction from those who guarded them, but they referr'd the Remedy to their Weapons. They were in all about 3000 fighting Men, 1000 of them had Muskets, whereof 200 were expert at them; the rest neither Pikes, nor Lances, nor any other long sort of Arms, but only those they call *Toranas*, about a Fathom in Length, like Darts, and some like Arrows, which they cast by main Strength, with Canes and Strings, wherewith they unexpectedly wound unarm'd Men in Fight; because they fly not out of a Bow, but are thrown strait forward, or over their Heads. Others had only their *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, and Shields. Many of them fought the more obstinately, confiding in their Coats of Mail, and Head-Pieces, bought of the *Portugueses*; but as soon as they clos'd with our Men, they broke their Order, and lost Courage. This Accident prov'd a very great Obstacle, because it diverted our Men from their double Design of pressing both Forts at the same Time, so that the very Commanders were forc'd to ingage. *Morones* knew how to behave himself upon all Occasions, and the *Spaniards* made such a Slaughter, that almost all the *Javanese* lay upon the Spot. Those in the Forts had not the Courage to fall in upon the Rear, tho' they pour'd a Volley upon the Forces of *Tydore* and *Bachian*, but with little Harm. This Victory was not gain'd without Effusion of Blood, yet they took Heart to hope for one more compleat, at the Arrival of the Galeon from *India*, and believ'd that Addition of Strength would make amends for what they lost in the Storm.

The Galeon arriv'd at *Tydore*, better provided to carry on the Trade, than the War. For this Reason, and because many of our Men were Sick, or Wounded, *Morones* was oblig'd to raise the Siege, and dismiss those Kings, to whom he afterwards sent Presents of *Spanish* Commodities, some Horses and Silks. It was since known that tho' the *Ternates* will endure much Hardship, they were then so near press'd, that Hunger must have subdu'd them, could our Men have stay'd a little longer. They embark'd in Sight of the Enemy, who presently appear'd in the Field rejoicing, with Musick, and other Tokens of Victory. The *Asiatick* Traders resorted to their Ports, and others from *Europe*, but particularly their new Friends the *English*, with whom they communicated the Joy of their Success.

They never made a good use of Peace and Quietness at *Ternate*, as soon as that was now restor'd, the King was again at Variance with his Unkles; which Fortune so improv'd as to furnish an Opportunity that might have been advantageous to our Designs, had not she thwarted it. *Cachil Mandrasa* was the noblest of Sultan *Aerio's* Sons, as born of the Queen they call *Putriz*, which is the Chief. His Father would have had him succeed in the Throne, but was disgusted at a Boldness which does not use to be mis-

*Subtily of
the King of
Ternate.*

*His crafty
Words.*

lik'd among Politicians. *Cachil Mandraxa* was desperately in love with *Filola*, his Niece, Daughter to the King his Brother; and that Princes did not refuse her Unkles Courtship. The Father one Day found them talking together, in the Apartment reserv'd only for himself; and tho' he was satisfied their Conversation was within the Bounds of Decency, took such an Aversion, that he depriv'd him of the Succession. The illegitimate Nephew Reign'd, against the Will of all the Unkles, who were near conspiring to kill him; but the subtle King knew how to disappoint their Designs, and secure himself without discovering the Contrivance. He call'd *Cachil Mandraxa* to him, and repeating all past Distates, told him, how desirous he was to remove all manner of Jealousies by a perfect Reconciliation, which he thought might be done by means of the Princess *Filola*, and since there was such a good Correspondence between them, all the Rest would be easie. However before he gave her to him to Wife, he must reflect that she was promis'd to the King of *Tydore*, to whom he was not willing to administer fresh Causes of War, or to be the Occasion of interrupting that short Tranquility they enjoy'd. That since all they discours'd there would remain in their Breasts, he would have him to take his Advice. *Mandraxa* was beside himself, with that unexpected Satisfaction, and yet had he been truly Master of himself, he might easily have seen thro' the Fraud of that pleasing Change in his Condition, wherein he found the King so much his Friend, who but just before had been his Enemy. He thank'd him for the Favour, and putting his whole Dependance on the Words of his Mouth, desir'd he would give him the Advice he spoke of. The King answer'd, *I have contriv'd a Way, which will satisfie you, and the King of Tydore will have no Cause to complain. For the attaining of both these Ends, I will keep Council, as is requisite, and do you any Night steal away the Princess, the Way you shall best like, so it be with Regard to my Reputation, and in all Respects giving such outward Tokens, that all Men may believe it was open Violence, and no Contrivance, or at least known to me. I, on my Side, will pretend to be very Angry, and will complain of the Injury as loudly as is requisite to satisfie the World of my Innocence. For why should I, Uncle, wish for the Felicities of this World, but to make them common to our Family? I will retain the Cares of the Crown, and do you enjoy the Satisfaction the Kingdom affords.* *Mandraxa* could not forbear Weeping for Joy, he fell down at his Nephew's Feet and kiss'd them, without disguizing any thing of his Passion, yet suppressing the Joy of his new Hopes, the best he could, he found Means to acquaint the Princess, and to appoint the Hour, Place, and Confidants for exposing herself to be stolen away.

*Cachil
Mandraxa
steals the
Princess
Filola.*

To this Purpose they pitch'd upon a Garden, which looks out upon the Sea, adorn'd with its Natural Trees, whence the Ships are seen, and among them, on the Day prefix'd they spy'd a *Carcoa*, with all the Men that Row'd curiously dress'd and they and the Soldiers wearing Garlands, plainly shew'd the Design of their Voyage, tho' they row'd without the Musick they use to have at other Times. *Mandraxa* and a small but brave Number of his Friends landed as silently, and they after the manner of *Talasio*, and the ancient *Romans*, when they forc'd away the *Sabine Women*, laid Hold of *Filola* and the Rest, and run them aboard with all possible Speed, conveying them to a strong Place in the Island, where having fortify'd himself.

like a Soldier, *Mandraxa* devote himself to Love. Faine the utter Enemy to Secrecy divulg'd the Fact, and convey'd it over to the King of *Tydore's* Ears, with the King of *Ternate's* Complaints. He magnify'd the Affront, and every Man spoke of it, according to his own Notion. The King who had contriv'd it, and by whose Breath all the Machines of that Tragedy were mov'd assembled the prime Men of his Kingdom, most of them Enemies to the deluded *Mandraxa*, and ask'd their Assistance and Advice in so notorious a Violence, and pretending extraordinary Concern. They all Voted to a Man, that it was absolutely necessary to make such an Example as might deter others from the like. When the Consultation was over, the King dispatch'd Messengers to his Unkle, intreating him to repair to Court to stop ill Mouths by fair Means, and appease the Neighbouring Princes. *Cachil Mandraxa* made no difficulty to obey, as well knowing that none of his Actions had been contrary to the King's Orders. Only the Princess advis'd the Contrary; for tho' young, as little above 20 years of Age, she was better acquainted with her Brother, and well knew he never kept his Faith, particularly with his own Family, and that he could not have any Kindness for them as being jealous of the Crown. *Mandraxa* made no Account of all that, but went to Court, and enter'd the Palace attended by his Family, and relying on the King's Promise, but more especially on the secret Mystery of that Affair, known only to them two, Unkle and Nephew. When he came to kiss the King's Hand, he looking as stern as if he had not advis'd the stealing of the Princess, said he knew not what Course to take upon so notorious an Affront offer'd to his Crown and Palace, but to cut off his Head. *Mandraxa* thinking at first that had been all Counterfeit, and according to what had been agreed between them, when he perceiv'd it was barefac'd falsehood, would have spoke loud in Defence of his Innocence; but was not permitted, and the King making a Sign to a Sturdy Black he had prepar'd for that Action, he drew his Cymiter, and hew'd him down barbarously. The poor Prince fell, without being reliev'd by any Man; for at that Time his Brothers *Cachil Tulo*; and *Cachil Sufur* were not at *Ternate*, the former being Governor, the latter Admiral. Nor did they come to *Ternate* in a long Time after, tho' they took Care to protect the Widow Princess, who was left with Child, and afterwards brought forth *Cachil Amida*, who dy'd Young.

*Rase false-
hood of the
King.*

*He murder:
Mandraxa.*

The whole Truth of this Matter was soon known, with all its Particulars, and Circumstances; and the *Cachiles* conferring together, *Tulo* resolv'd to go over to the Service of King *Philip*, to which Purpose, when *Duarte Pereyra* was Commander in Chief at *Tydore*, he went thither to treat with him, and with *Antony de Matos*, who went first for the same End to *Bachian*; but forasmuch as what was concerted among them, will better appear by the Letter *Cachil Tulo* sent from *Tydore* to the Governour *Santiago de Vers*, we will here insert it, translated from the *Malaye* Language, by the King's *Naguatatos*, so they there call the Interpreters.

*The King's
Unkles
conspire
against
him.*

Cachil Babu, my Brother, late King of Ternate, writ to the King of lo's Letter Portugal, to desire he would do him Justice, upon a Man, who murder'd to the Go- his Father and mine; upon receiving which Satisfaction, he would again ternor of deliver the Fort of Ternate to his Majesty, it being then out of his Possession. the Philip- His pines.

His present Majesty succeeding in the Throne of Portugal, answer'd my Brother's Letter, by Cachil Naique, his Embassador; but when he return'd my Brother was dead, which was the Reason we did not then deliver up the Fort, because a Bastard Son had succeeded him, being proclaim'd King by the People of Ternate, with the Assistance of the King of Tydore, tho' he had no Right to it. He would not perform what his Father had promis'd, and he was oblig'd to; nor follow the Advice given him by me, and by my Brother Cachil Mandraxa, the rightful Heir of the Crown; which was that he should deliver up the Fort, as his Father had promis'd, to the Portuguese; and this, not because he could not defend himself against them, and his Majesty; but expressly because his Father, and my Brother had so order'd; for we did not suppose it could be taken from us by Force of Arms; but we knew it was his Will to serve his Majesty, by delivering up the Fort to him. He finding we persisted in this Opinion, resolv'd to murder my Brother, and his own Unkle, the true Heir of the Crown, cutting him in Pieces, by the Hands of a Slave, when he came upon his Word, and had his Security and mine. Wherefore considering the Injustice of my Nephew upon this Occasion, and that he will not perform what his Father, my Brother and I promised to his Majesty, I am resolv'd from this Time forward, to become his Majesty's sincere Subject and Seroant. And I do by these Presents, oblige myself, and swear by my Law, as I did swear; and do not depart from it, to the Father Vicar Antony Ferreyra, to give all my Help and Assistance, towards the taking of the Fort, with all my Kindred and Friends, till it shall be in the Possession of his Majesty's Commander, or whosoever shall come with the Portuguese, or Spaniards that attend him; upon Condition, that the Commander, or Commanders, shall, in his Majesty's Name, perform what Duarte Pereyra, the Commander in chief promis'd me and sign'd for him, I having given him a Counterpart; which is, that I shall be proclaim'd King of Ternate, as soon as Possession is taken of the Fort for his Majesty; both in regard it belongs to me in Right of my Father, and of the Service I now do, and hereafter hope to do his Majesty. I therefore beg it as a Favour of your Lordship, and require you in his Majesty's Name, that you take Care to send the greatest Number of Men you possibly can, and with the greatest Expedition; to the End that this my Intention, and Will to serve his Majesty herein may be effectual, which I hope will be without the Expence of Lives; notwithstanding the Fort is well fortify'd, as your Lordship may have been inform'd. The Commander in chief, will write to your Lordship, what Season and Order those Forces are to observe. Given at Tydore, to which Place I am come to this Intent, as will be testify'd by the Father Vicar Antony Ferreyra, and the Judge Antony de Matos, whom, as Persons of such Note, I desir'd to sign for me. May the 23d.

Nunno At the Bottom of the Letter, the Vicar and Matos certify'd his Hand Pereyra's and Subscription. With this came another very long one, wherein Duarte Persuasions to Pereyra gives the Governour a more ample Account of what is here deliver'd briefly, representing to him the Opportunity offer'd in forcible Governor. Terms. He tells him that Mandraxa a little before his Death, had propos'd the same thing to him, that his Brother Tulo now did; and that they were desirous to fulfill what they promis'd Nunno Pereyra. That

Island of *Machian*, the most fruitful in Clove, Espous'd the Party that was against the King. That they could no longer endure their Oppression. He perswaded him to Arm 400 *Spaniard's*, if they were come from *Mexico*, and to Ship them off for the Expedition upon *Ternate*, giving out, that they were going to clear those Seas from *Javanese*s, whose Friendship the People of *Ternate* value more than they do ours. That besides the good Success he expected by the Help of those Forces, they would at least secure those Ports against the *English*, the People of *Ternate* having always a Fleet in Readiness. That the Enterprize might succeed with Fifteen Frigates, and one Galeon, provided they went to stay a Year at the *Moluccos*, and brought a Number of *Philippine* Pioneers. He says, the *Javanese* Ships are less than the Frigats, and there are Forty Soldiers in each of them, who lye Aboard Eight Months, and live a Year upon 300 Bushels of Rice. That in Case the Frigates could not hold the Men, they should bring some Junks, which are necessary Vessels to Transport Provisions from the Islands of *Burro* and *Bachian*. He complains of the King of *Tydore's* ill Behaviour, and his Avarice; of *Sancho de Vasconcelos*, and *James de Azambuja*, who built the Fort of *Tydore* in an ill place. He commends the King of *Bachian*, and says he in private lives like a Christian. Among these Things he intermixes many more, all of them tending to perswade the Expedition of *Ternate*, to blot out the last Disgrace, without any Expence to the King, through *Cachil Tulo's* Contrivance.

The Governour receiv'd this Dispatch, and he would willingly have put it in Execution immediately; but as it went on slowly, and the Death of *Cachil Tulo* happened in the meanwhile, it was requisite to delay the Design, and attend to the Preservation of the *Philippine* Islands, against the Machinations of the *Chineses* and *Japoneses*, against whose Robberies and Burnings they are never secure. Each of these Attempts haras'd the Province with the Expence of Treasure, and Power, so that there was a necessity of breathing to recover both. It was thought the most proper Advice to joyn from the *Philippines* and *Malaca*, with equal Force, coming from both Parts to Arm in the *Moluccos*, which was the Boundary of both Provinces. This took Effect some Years after, Captain *Andrew Furtado* coming from *Malaca*, of whose Actions it will be proper to begin to speak to give a Reputation to his Person.

Andrew Furtado de Mendoza might have Ennobled his Family, had it not been of antient Quality. He was the Terror of those Eastern Parts, where he serv'd the King ever since the Year 1576, subduing Barbarous Nations. In the Year 1587 he was Governour of the Fort of *Rachol*, till he came to have that of *Malaca*. Whilst he was in the first, some Villages of Gentiles rose up against the Ministers of the Church, disturbing Christianity with Warlike Disorders. *Furtado* pacify'd them with Severity, and his Authority. In 1591 *Furtado* was Commander of the *Portuguese* Soldiery in that *Archipelago*, and was very earnest to employ them in the Recovery of *Ternate*; but was hinder'd by other Wars, which he concluded Victoriously. In August that same Year, he was inform'd that Eighteen Galeons had put out of *Cunhal*, Commanded by *Cutumaza*, assisted by *Raju*, with a Design to Besiege the Fort of *Ceylon*. This *Cutumaza* had the Year before Burnt a Ship of ours, Sailing for *China*, and made

The Projects for
executing
the Design.

Andrew
Furtado
his Actions.

dismal

disfmal Havock on the Coast of *Coromandel*. *Furtado* went out in Search of the Enemies-Fleet, and by the way reliev'd the Fort of *Ceylon*; and on the Coast of *Malabar* he met three Ships Bound from *Mecca* for *Cunnal*. He fought them, and Sunk two, the Sea running so high, that the Vessels which Row'd could not attack them. The other after a long Dispute yielded to him. This Victory was a sufficient Revenge for the Burning of our Ships. Continual War is maintain'd in these Parts, which Neighbour upon *Malaca*; and that in *Ceylon* never ceases, contrary to the Advice of Persons that are well acquainted with *India*; because the best Product of that Island being the Cinnamon, a Commodity of less Durance than the Mace, Clove and Pepper, they look upon almost all the expence laid upon *Ceylon*, as good as thrown away. Besides that the greatest Commanders are employ'd in suppressing the continual Rebellions of those most inconstant People, without stretching out, at least as far as the *Moluccas*, by their Absence encouraging their Tyranny, and giving Opportunity to Nations that are our Enemies to fix themselves in our Forts.

Ceylon
describ'd.

Ceylon is one of the most Remarkable Islands in the World, and the most fruitful. It lies opposite to *Cape Comorin*, Nobly Inhabited, and cultivated. In it grow all Plants, known in all other Parts of the World, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cinnamon, and the most Excellent call'd *Mosyllion* grows in this Island. Here is Wild and Garden Fruit, *Spanish* Figs, and Grapes, and the best Oranges in all *Asia*. There are whole Woods of mighty Palm-Trees. The Variety of Flowers, would take up much Time to describe it; as also of Grain known to us, Wheat, Rice, and Flax, of which and their Cotton, they make wonderful Webs. It has all sorts of Precious Stones, Gold, Silver, Steel, Tin, Iron, and Seed Pearl. Several Christaline Rivers, and Fountains moisten it, with delightful and Medicinal Waters, of Excellent Qualities. And among the rest there are Springs of Liquid Bitumen, thicker than our Oyl, and some of pure Balsam. There are Burning Mountains continually blazing, and casting out Clods of Brimstone among the Craggs of the Hills; where there are Groves of Tall Trees, on whose Branches are to be seen all sorts of Birds that fly in other Parts of the World, and among them our Turkys, Wild Hens, and Pidgeons. It abounds in Deer, Wild-Boars, Tygers, Lions, and Elephants of so Noble a Kind, that all others submit to them. Those that are bred in this Island have such an Extraordinary Natural Instinct, that it verifies what *Aristotle*, *Plutarch*, *Athenaw*, *Ælian*, *Pliny*, and others, who have Writ Natural History testifie, and is, that whether it proceeds from Knowledge, or Habit, they partake of the Wit, Sense, and even of the Prudence of Men. We are told they have so much Sense of Honour, that they will not go Aboard a Ship, if they imagine they are carry'd to serve Princes in strange Countries, and that they obey, if their Owners swear they will bring them back to their own. That they are concern'd at abusive Words given them. That they pay a sort of Religious Respect to the Sun and Moon. That they remember such Things as they conceive; and *Gellius* perswades us we may believe, that at Night they bewail their Servitude with doleful Complaints; and if any Man happens to come in the Height of their Lamentation, they with shame suppress their S

Product.

Birds.

Beasts.

Elephants.

and in short, they seem sensible of the Iniquity of their Fate. In this Country it is their Part to load and unload Ships, the Weight of Commerce, whether Arms, Metals, Provisions, or other Commodities whatsoever hanging on their Teeth, or lying on their Necks. They are more willing to carry Arm'd Men on their Backs, in great Castles built to that purpose. They serve the *Chingalas*, not as they did in *Rome* at publick Shows, but in Battel, as they did the *Carthaginians*, and afterwards the *Romans*. The People of *Ceylon* believe their Country is the Terrestrial Paradise. They call the Top of a certain Mountain *Adam's Point*, and on it, they say, is to be seen the Print of his Foot, and that there he did Penitence. Upon this Belief, the *Jogues*, who are penitent Pilgrims, visit that Point, where they affirm there grows a thick Tree, of an indifferent Height, with small rough Leaves, of a dusky Colour, the Bark Ash-colour'd, which in the Night shines, and dispells Darknes. Under Colour of this Superstition, all the Gangs of strowling Players or Actors, come out of this Island, and travel throughout all *India*, representing their Fables, with odd Gestures, and Dancing to little Flat Tabors, Bag-pipes, and Rattles of small Bells. Abundance of Pearls are found about it. The Gold and other Metals are kept untouch'd in the Mines, by publick Law, and yet notwithstanding this Precaution, they are not free from War and Oppression. The Natives are call'd *Chingalas*, and resemble the *Malabars* in Customs and Countenances. They have broad Noses, but are not so black, and go naked, but not to immodesty. Formerly they had but one King, who was dispossest'd by Force, and Treachery, and the Kingdom divided among many. Division having thus weaken'd them, a Barbarian, call'd *Raju*, tyrannically expell'd the King's the Island; one of whom was by the Magnificence of the Kings of *Portugal* bred at *Goa*.

Opinion
that Para-
dise is in
Ceylon.

Strange
Tree.

Players.

King's ex-
pell'd.

Raju was a subtle Soldier, and jealous even of those that supported him. He had some Years before, besieg'd the Fort of *Columbo*, with a great Body of Foot, Elephants and Horse. *Andrew Furtado* being in search of the Enemies Fleet, in Prosecution of his Revenge for the Ships lost, to relieve the Fort of *Columbo*, doubled *Cape Comorin*, thro' the Streight of *Ceylon*, at the Time when it is usually most difficult and dangerous for Tall Ships, much more for such Vessels as use Oars. He came to the Fort so opportunely, that had he stay'd never so little longer it had been lost, for most of the Garrison had mutiny'd against their Commander in Chief *Simon de Brito* who was wounded by them with two Musket Balls. *Raju* was marching with all Expedition by Land to *Columbo* for fear of slipping the Opportunity offer'd him of taking Possession of it. *Cutumza* lay with all his Fleet in the River *Cordiva*, distant from the Fort ready to attack it by Sea, when *Raju* fell on by Land. *Furtado* was before-hand with him, and getting in, dispos'd all Things for its Defence. He quell'd the Mutiny, punish'd the Ring-leaders, satisfy'd such as had just Cause of Complaint or had been wrong'd, and with all possible Speed went out to find *Cunale's* Fleet. Nor was he disappointed, for the Enemy did not offer to fly, but met him, with his Ships drawn up in good Order, and after Cannonading, they laid one another aboard, where there was an obliquate Fight on both Sides, till *Cunale's* Navy was defeated. *Furtado* took 14 Galeons, with all their Artillery, and Men, besides Abundance kill'd. The Admi-

Furtado
relieves
Columbo.

Beats the
Indian
Fleet.

ral fled with only four Ships of 18 he had, and made to *Raju's* Country. This Victory was sufficient Satisfaction for the Damage receiv'd by that rebellious Fleet, the ill Success whereof discourag'd *Raju* from coming to besiege *Columbo*, so that he retir'd and dismiss'd his Army.

Not long after, *Furtado* was inform'd by his Spyes, that the King of *Jasanapatan* had concluded a League with *Raju*, pressing him to return to the Siege of *Columbo*, whilst he did the same to *Mina*. That his Presumption might not want such Punishment, as became the Honour of the Crown of *Portugal*, and the Reputation of its Grandeur, which is more prevalent in those Parts than Force, *Furtado* gathering what Power he could, with all possible Celerity attack'd that King. He was not unprovided, but drawing up without the Walls of that City, offer'd him Battel, his Men, Elephants and Horses covering spacious Fields. *Furtado* playing both Parts of a Commander, and a Soldier, drew up his Forces, encourag'd them in few Words; and both Sides coming to the Charge exercis'd their Force and Fury; but at Length the King's Troops were routed, and he slain emerging the City, in which abundance of Brass Cannon was found, besides the Plunder, which was considerable. He took Possession of it, and seizing the Forts and Garrisons, carry'd on the War there in such Manner, that the whole Kingdom seeing such severe Execution, and feeling it so heavily within its Bowels, submitted to the King of *Spain*. By his Authority, when the Sword was put up, he appointed a Kinsman of the late King, to whom of Right it belonged, to reign in *Jasanapatan*, he having been taken in the last Battel. He caus'd him to swear and plight his Faith, that he would be a perpetual Vassal to his Majesty; imposing on him the Payment of a yearly Tribute, which still subsists. The Writings containing this Settlement were sent by him into *Spain*, where and at *Goa*, all that had been done was approv'd of by the Viceroy, and the Conqueror, who had concluded it so happily, highly applauded.

Ternate He next Strengthened the Fort of *Columbo*, with Four Ships of his Fleet, *the Cause* and 100 Soldiery; and Supply'd *Cosme de la Peta* with Eighty Men, under *of Rebelli-* Two Captains, to prosecute the Affair of *Candia*, which was committed to him, and sort'd good effect. No Rebellion broke out in those Parts, but what was either supported by *Ternate*, or proceeded from its Example, and great Celerity was requisite in the Commanders for suppressing of it.

Coast of At this same Time all the Coast of the Pearl Fishery rebell'd, and among *Pearl Fi-* other sudden Destruction usually made by Seditious Men in Arms, the Subjects of *Vinapanaique* burnt Twenty five Christian Churches. *Furtado* made all possible speed to chastize them before the Rebellion grew to a Head. The Murineers not being well Strengthened, sent Embassadors to him, begging Peace, and colouring their Guilt with Excuses, which *Furtado* admitted of because it was convenient for his Majesties Service; upon Condition they should make good all the Damages occasion'd by their Revolt. He commanded them to rebuild the Churches they had destroy'd, and to grant the Society of the *Jesuits*, who had then the Charge of the Christians in that Country, all the Liberties and Immunities demanded by those then residing there; taking sufficient Hostages for the Performance.

These

These and other no less notable Actions, he perform'd in the space of four Months; but as Envy seldom fails to oppose Valour, when he came to *us'd would* *Cochin*, and was there ready to set out for the Conquest of the *Moluccos*, *depart In-* and particularly of *Ternate*, he received Letters from the Viceroy, *Matthias* *dia.* *de Albuquerque* commanding him to deliver up the Fleet to *Nunno Vello* *Pereyra*. He obey'd, and when he came to *Goa*, was Imprisoned, and put to Trouble. As soon as it was in his Power, he resolv'd to depart *India*, and remove himself from the ill-will of those he thought were not his Friends; but the City of *Goa* conjur'd him not to forsake it, and in vain endeavour'd to procure a Reconciliation betwixt those Commanders. This happened in the Year 1592, when, and some Years after, *Ternate* might have been reliev'd, as *Furtado* desir'd, had not the Animosities reigning obstructed it. However they were so far from employing him, that, tho' *Furtado* several times Offer'd himself, with his own Ships, and at his proper Cost, where there was such Necessity of suppressing *Cunnale*, yet he was as often Rejected, and that Victory envy'd him, which afterwards he had granted by Heaven, as we shall see in its Place.

At this Time *Santiago de Vera* was discharged of his Command of the *Philippine* Islands. He had signified his Intentions to *Andrew Furtado*, and received his Answer, That he would comply with his Desires; but Fortune disappointed these good Beginnings, embroiling *Furtado* with those who did not love him, and removing *Santiago* from his Government. His Successor was *Gomez Perez de las Marinnas*, Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, or *St. James* the Apostle, a Person of high Reputation, born at *Be-* *tanzos*, in the Kingdom of *Galicia*. He arriv'd at the *Philippines* in the Year 1590, and brought with him his Son *Don Lewis*, Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*. The new Governor found *Manila* open, without any Form of a City, and without Wealth to Improve it. Above 200000 Pieces of Eight were wanting for this Purpose; yet he compass'd the Work by Projects, and Contrivance without any Damage to the Publick, or to private Persons. He Monopoliz'd the Cards; he laid Penalties on excessive Gaming, and punish'd such as Forestell'd the Markets, and on Victuallers, and other Retailers of that Sort that were guilty of Frauds; with these Fines he built the Walls of *Manila*, which are 12849 Geometrical Foot in Compass, each Foot being the third part of a Yard. He apply'd himself diligently to this Work, and the Inhabitants attended it, being willing to forward it on Account of the Intreaties and Example of their Chief. The City had but one Fort, and that ill built, wherefore he Erected another at the Mouth of the River, calling it *Santiago*, and enclosed the old one. He finish'd the Cathedral, and built from the Ground the Church of *St. Potenciana*, Patroness of the Island, for Women that have retir'd from the World. Then he apply'd himself to casting, and brought able Artists, who furnish'd the Place with heavy and small Cannon; built Gallies to Cruize and Trade, whereon depends the Welfare of those Countries; and pursuant to what he had promis'd in *Spain*, bent his Thoughts towards *Ternate*, and all the *Moluccos*; reflected on the Disreputation of the unfortunate Expeditions of his Predecessors, who attempted the Conquest of that flourishing Kingdom, and how he might punish those who Tyranniz'd in it.

He imparted his Thoughts by Word of Mouth, and by Letters to Zealous Persons,

Gomez
Perez Go-
vernors of
the Philip-
pines.

He Walls
Manila;
Builds
Fort, &c.

His first Steps for recovery of the Moluccos. Persons, and more particularly to *F. Marta*, a Priest of the Society of *Jesus*, and a grave and active Man, whose Experience and Doctrine had been very Advantageous in those Parts. This Religious Man furnish'd him with Intelligence, Advice, and proper Ministers to prepare and carry on the Work; one of whom was Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, a Spaniard, and Lay-Brother of the said Society. Among the many Conferences there were to this Effect, I find an Exhortation of *F. Antony Marta*, in a Letter he writ to the Governor from *Tydore*, which, because it is an Original, and conducing for the better Understanding of this Affair, I will here insert, translated out of the *Portuguese*. Grant me this Liberty, since the Speeches which are generally Fabulous, pretended to be made by Generals and Consuls, in the Greek and Latin Histories, are allow'd of. *F. Antony Marta* says thus;

F. Marta's Letter, of the State of the Moluccos. In fine, your Lordship is resolv'd to undertake this Expedition. You will have a spacious Field for dilating the Glory of God very much, and rendering your Name famous to Perpetuity. By it your Lordship will acquire to his Majesty a most Large and Wealthy Kingdom, since all this Archipelago of the Moluccos and Amboina, as far as Banda, which is above 130 Leagues in Length, and 70 in Breadth, is an inexhaustible Source of Clove, Nutmeg, and Mace, which will afford his Majesty a Yearly Income of 200000 Crusados, which is about 27000 Pounds Sterling, then a considerable Sum, in India alone; besides that of other Islands, which produce no Clove. Nor will it require any Expence, because the Country it self will freely afford it on its very Mountains; and what is yet much more, your Lordship will gain above 200000 Souls to God, all which, in a short time, after subduing the Kingdom, will become Christians, without any, or with very little Opposition; whereby your Lordship will have a burning Flambeau in this World, to light and conduct you to Heaven. Besides, you will magnify and perpetuate your Name, with a Title nothing inferior to those of the ancient Roman Generals, such as those of Germanicus, Africanus, and the like. It is not now requisite to touch upon the Method your Lordship is to observe for compassing this Enterprize, to your eternal Praise; for, as we understand, there is no want of Experience with you for Warlike Affairs; Yet if your Lordship should be any way Dubious, Jerome de Azevedo is able to inform you of such things as you shall desire to know. He is well acquainted with the Strength of the Moluccos, and of their Enemies. However I would have your Lordship look

League of the Mahometans.

upon this War as considerable and difficult, because it is very convenient to come well Provided, and Resolv'd. You are not to Fight with the Ternates alone, but with all the Moors of this Archipelago. Hitherto the Fort of Amboina had to do with the Ternates, that are at Veranula, and this of Tydore with those in the Island Ternate; but now of late we are to fight with those of the Islands of Banda and of Seram. All the Moors in those Parts Assembled last year, and Resolv'd, That for the future the War should be carry'd on under the Name of their Religion. And for the more Security, and better Establishing of this Point, they chose those of Banda for Chiefs of their Law; and took an Oath to lay down their Lives, or expell the Portugueses. Accordingly the last Year, those of Banda came with the Ternates

Fort of Amboyna Besieged. of Veranula, with a great number of Carcoas, to Besiege the Fort of Amboyna; and in the Engagement they had with us, took one of the two Gallies we brought from Goa, tho' it was not their Valour, but our Negligence that

that occasion'd the making of that Prize. It plainly appear'd, that our Lord did it to punish our Pride. This so far Encouraged them, that they durst afterwards daily Cruize in sight of the Fort, took the Fishermen that went out in the Morning to follow their Trade, and laid a Ground some Carcoas on the Shore. They erected a Mosque opposite to the Fort, as in a safe Place, and thus they kept the Fort Besieged with Contempt, for the space of a Month. At the end thereof, the Galley going out, with one Galiot we had left, made them fly, every one to his own Country, giving out, and threatening, That they would Return the next Year with a greater Fleet, which will be about September. We are certainly assured that the People of Banda, left 50 of their prime Men at Amboyna, as Hostages for the performance of their Engagement. This is also known by a Man of our own, who fled from Banda, having been carry'd thither Prisoner from Amboyna. We are informed, that 25 Carcoas would set out, so many being Launch'd, and they were to Sail after their Lent, which is at the End of this Month of July, and to joyn the Seyrves, and the rest of the Confederates, in order to return again before the Fort of Amboyna. If they come with such a Force, I am very suspicious that the Fort will be lost; because the Enemies method is to take in all the Towns that are Subject to it; and when this is left alone, wanting the Support of its Neighbours, it must of necessity Surrender. Antony Perez, the Governor of that Fort, is a Man of Courage, and well Fortified; and yet there are Circumstances to be consider'd, some of them very Difficult; as that the Enemies are Numerous, and there will come some Confederates with them, who are fit for any piece of Treachery; besides, that they cannot be Reliev'd from any Part whatsoever, for the full space of five Months, that is till the beginning of January next. We cannot but apprehend some great Mischief will happen; for supposing they do not take the Fort, still this War is Dangerous, as being Universal, with all the Moors; stirr'd up by means of the Caciques; Concerted under solemn Oaths; and Declar'd to be Religious, with full Remission of Sins to all that Die in it. There is no want of Fomenters, and those Caciques of Note, and great Authority among the Moors, in Banda, Amboyna, Ternate, and Tydore. These Men urge their Religion, and the Honour of Mahomet, and by that means manage the People as they please; as I have found by Experience this Year, and in this War we had at Amboyna, in which I was. For formerly the Moors were soon weary of being at Sea, and when any Man of Note happened to be kill'd in Fight, they presently retir'd, looking upon it as an ill Omen. Now they continue all the seasonable Months at Sea, without flinching; tho' the Portugueses slew 150 of their Men, and among them their Admiral, and others of the prime Commanders they had in their Fleet. To this must be added, That this is a general Conspiracy of all the Moors against us; insonmuch, that two who were our Friends, and had Assisted us several times, with their Fleets, against the Ternates, being those of the Island Burro, these being summoned by the Commander to Sail with him in the Navy, as they had done at other times, did not only refuse it now, but would not so much as receive the Message, or suffer him that carry'd it to Land. The Tydores did the same, for the Commander of Amboyna demanding Assistance of them, they would not go, alledging that their Fort was in as much Danger. And the King of Tydore being inform'd of your Lordships coming,

General
Conspiracy
against
Christians.

his Subjects declare before hand, and perhaps at the Instigation of their King, That they will have no Spaniards in these Parts; which makes us look about, where they will raise Moors to Destroy us. Therefore all Delays, in this Affair, will be very dangerous; because we are Inferior to the Moors, and must of Necessity Fight them, since it is for Religion, and Honour, on both which Accounts they are become our mortal Enemies. By this your Lordship will understand what need we are in of your Succour and Relief; and may compute how many are to draw their Swords against you, since they are all our Enemies in general, and have Conspir'd against us. However, it will be Discretion first to Dissemble with the Tydores, that they may not join the Ternates, and by that means render the War more tedious and difficult. I do not speak to all the rest in particular, according to my Notion, because I refer it to Jerome de Azevedo, who will give a very good Account. But let this be Established as a Maxim, That your Lordship has a mighty Enterprize in Hand; and I trust in God he will give you Wisdom, and Strength to go through it with Ease; since you come to Revenge the Injuries formerly, and now offered by these Barbarians, to God and his Saints. For we know, that the Ternates still drink out of the consecrated Chalices, and make use of the Patens to Offer, or Receive any thing, as on profane Salvers; and of the Vestments, and Ornaments of Altars, they make Cloaths, and Hangings for their Houses. The People of Banda, most of them, wear Ornaments of the Blood of above 3000 Christians, they Treacherously Murder'd, at several times, in their Ports, as they went thither to Trade with them; and in that Island, and part of the Sea, there are Streams of Spanish and Portuguese Blood running. Your Lordship came to spread the Catholick Faith, and that you may the better conceive what Jerome de Azevedo will say to you touching this Affair, I send you by him a Draught of all this Archipelago, as well of the Moluccos, as of Amboyna, and Banda. In it your Lordship will see what a large Kingdom we loose, when it might be recover'd with little Cost. It only remains, That your Lordship come, with all possible Expedition, because the greatest Danger is in Delay; and when you are here you will find brave Commanders, who will assist you with their Swords and their Advice. Among them is Sanhco de Valconcelos, who was Commander at Amboyna, has often fought with these Insidels, and obtain'd signal Victories over them. Here is also Thomas de Sousa, Commander of Molucco, and of most Southern Parts, a Man expert in Martial Affairs. In Tydore and Amboyna, you will also find brave Soldiers, and there will not want to Pay them, for the Riches of the Country will be sufficient for that, and to satisfy them with Gold, precious Stones, and other Booty; besides you will find many sorts of Arms. We Religious Men daily offer up our Prayers, and will so continue to do with Fervour; and tho' the Unworthiness of the Ministers might be a Hinderance, yet we hope they will prove Advantageous.

The Governour receiv'd this Letter; which, with the Discourse he had more at large with Jerome de Azevedo, made him put the last Hand to a Work of so much Importance to the Service of the Christian Commonwealth, which had been neglected in those Parts. Gaspar Gomez had conferr'd with him long before, and by his Means, and the Accounts of other knowing Persons, the Governor was so well acquainted with the Kingdoms, and Seas, the Seasons and Dangers of the Undertaking, that he had no great need of F.

Marta's

za's Map. He dispatch'd *Gaspar Gomez*, a Man of Secrecy and Activity, trusting him with the Design, because he was recommended by several grave Fathers of that Order. He gave him particular Instructions, with which, *Gaspar* and his own Experience, he wander'd about the *Archipelago*, and learnt as much as was convenient. He visited *Ternate*, *Tylore*, *Mindanao*, both the *Javas*, and scarce omitted any Place, as far as the Point of *Malacca*, but what he took a View of.

In the Year 1593, King *Philip* the 2d bestow'd the Government of *Cartagena*, in *America*, upon *Don Pedro Bravo de Acunna*. To take this Employ, he quitted that he had in the *Spanish* Gallies; he was Captain of the Admiral Galley, and Vice-Admiral of them all, under the *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant of *Castile*, his Kinsman. He had serv'd his Majesty many Years by Sea and Land, in the *Mediterranean*. No Action of Note was perform'd without him, since the Expedition of *Navarino* against the *Turks*, and the others that ensu'd in those Parts, in *Naples*, in *Portugal*, and all those that occur'd before, till his Majesty was put in Possession of that Crown. Lastly, When he commanded the *Spanish* Gallies he fought those of the *Moors* and *Turks*, with the *Galiots*, and *Brigantines* of the *Levant*, and *English* Ships, and took and sunk several of both Sorts. He took a great Number of Slaves in *Barbary*; particularly at *Zangazon*, *Benegicar*, and *Alcazar*. He defended *Cadiz* from the Invasion, and Rapine of *Drake*, the *English* Admiral, who attempted it with a mighty Fleet. This was done by only four Gallies, but two of which were clean, yet the Bravery of the Commander made amends for all. How great an Action this was, and what Reputation *Don Pedro* gain'd by it, appear'd afterwards, when the *English* again possess'd themselves of *Cadiz*, at the Time that all the Gallies in *Spain* were in the Bay, and the Fleet then preparing to sail to the *Indies*. In each of these Actions, most whereof were victorious, there are many remarkable Particulars, and they all deserve large Encomiums; but since they do not belong to the Subject of this History, it would be blameable to insert them here.

The King for these Reasons constituted *Don Pedro de Acunna*, his Captain General, in the Province of *Cartagena* and *Tierra Firme*, and Commander of the Gallies on that Coast; which Commissions had never before been united in that Government. He gave him a Galley, and Orders to receive the Royal Fifths of the Pearl-Fishery, at the Island *Margarita*. He set out from the Port of *Sanlucar*, on the 27th of *September*, in a *Pink*, with 12 Soldiers, some Religious Men, and his Servants, the Galley, and another Ship following. The Winds soon rose, and the Sea swell'd, and the Vessels were dispers'd. In one of them there were 20 Soldiers, and 40 Slaves at the Oar, this was so far drove away, that they saw it no more, till five Days after they came to *Cartagena*. The Storm ceas'd, and *Don Pedro* arriv'd at *Gran Canaria*, but would not go into the City. He took in two hundred Cask of Water. The Governour *Don Lewis de la Cueva* was not in the Island; but it being known in his Family that *Don Pedro* was come, they sent to welcome him. The Visit was follow'd by some Horses loaded with Abundance of Fowl, Game, Sheep, Wine, Pears, and most stately Quinces, besides Abundance of other Provisions. He sail'd thence with a favourable Wind, which soon turn'd against him, and tho' he was ar enough off, drove back the Ships in Sight of *Teneriffe*. After being tols'd about for some

D. 'Pedro de Acuna Governor of Cartagena.

His brave Actions.

His Voyage

some Days, there happened such a tedious Calm between two Islands, as made Amends for the Violence of the Storms, and yet he had others afterwards as violent as those before. Many Days after, when they had lost their reckning, they arriv'd at the Island *Metalinon*, inhabited by unconquered *Indians*, where they took in Water without Opposition, for the Rest of the Voyage. Thence he had fair Weather to the Island *Margarita*. As soon as he landed in the Harbour, *Don John Sarmiento de Villandrando*, the Governour of the Island came to meet him, having hourly expected him, since he knew he was to come. The rejoicing, and Entertainment was such as became Friends, and Friends of that Quality.

An English Ship near the Island Margarita

An *English Ship* of above four hundred Tun Burthen, with thirty Pieces of Cannon of five thousand Weight each, and Abundance of Men, had been 30 days in a Harbour but two Leagues from the Island *Margarita*. *Don John Sarmiento* telling *Don Pedro*, what Insolences that Ship committed, and how much to his Disreputation she oppress'd the Islanders under his Government, desir'd he might attack her with his Galley. *Don Pedro* perswaded him to desist from that Enterprize, since it did not belong to him, and it was an unpardonable Fault to attack her, without an equal Force. *Don John* persisted so long, that he carry'd it against *Don Pedro's* Opinion. They made to the Place where the Ship lay, passing by dangerous Rocks, and being come in Sight of it, perceiv'd it was stronger, and better provided than they had been told. Our Men, in Order to fight, turn'd out all the Women, most of them Wives to those that came in the Gallies. Twenty Soldiers came from the Island *Margarita*, by their Governours Order, who being ship'd they appear'd by Break of Day in Sight of the Enemy. The Wind then blowing fresh *Don Pedro* advising with the Natives of the Island *Margarita* and their Governour told them, it was requisite to expect a Calm, in Order to take the Ship, since the Galley could wait for it under Shelter, without any Danger. The Islanders being provok'd by the Dammage they had receiv'd, and to flatter *Don John Sarmiento*, answer'd, That they had two of the Prime Men of that Ship Prisoners in the City, by whose Account they were inform'd of the Distress she was in, and that she must surrender, as soon as attack'd. This Opinion being bandy'd about with Obstinacy, came to be Positiveness in *Don John*. *Don Pedro* looking upon it as such, and concerned to see his Friend engag'd in such a Piece of Madness, with those Hot, but unexperienc'd Men, said to them, By my long Experience in several Seas, I know it is the worst of Conduct to attack a Ship, when she has the Wind; but let us fall on; that the People of the Island *Margarita* may not have it to say that I deferr'd engaging out of Fear, and not out of Discretion. This said, he order'd his Galley to weigh Anchor. He arm'd himself, and *Don John*, and just as the Sun appear'd they attack'd the Ship with Fury and Violence. The *English* were not backward; they speedily cut the Cables of three Anchors they had out, and leaving them in the Sea, set their Sails. The Wind was fair and soon fill'd them. The Men were brisk and ply'd their Cannon without ceasing. Our Galley did the same, and fir'd five Shot, before it receiv'd any Harm. Then she ran her Beak against the Poop of the Ship, but could not grapple, nor board. Some Men went down to the Boats which were tow'd by the Ship, and cut the Ropes. The Ship, and Galley fell a firing again, without Intermission.

Don

The Islanders oblige Don Pedro to Fight her.

The Engagement.

Don Pedro receiv'd a Musquet Shot on his Target, which glancing off broke in Pieces a Board of the Stern Lockers, and wounded those that were next it. A Cannon Ball took off the Head of one of our Slaves, and scatter'd his Brains in *Don Pedro's* Face; but another Ball touch'd him nearer, when it threw *Don John Sarmiento* into the Sea, who being sunk by the Weight of his Armour, was never seen again. Fourteen Soldiers of the Island *Margarita*, and nine Spaniards were kill'd, and many wounded, of all whom *Don Pedro* took Care, without neglecting the other Duties of a Commander. Some Persons of Note were also kill'd, as *Alonso de Anduxar*, a Youth about twenty Years of Age, of the Order of Christ, and *Antonio Santiso*, who had been a Captain in *Flanders*. The Ship holding on her Course, made the best of the fair Wind, and was seen to fly, as if she had been victorious; tho' she threw many dead Bodies over Board, in Sight of our Men. *Don Pedro* return'd to the Island *Margarita*, lamenting the Death of his Friend, and his Wifes Widow-Hood, amidst the Tears of other Widows, and Fathers left Childless. He comforted the afflicted the best he could, received the King's Boxes of Peals, and went on much griev'd at the Event, and to see how little his Precaution had avail'd.

Don Pedro had a prosperous Passage thence, to the Island *Curacao*, to *Rio de la Hacha*, and so in Sight of *Cartagena*. Being descry'd from the City *Don Pedro at Carta-* the Galleys went out to meet him, whose Musick and Guns, with those of *gena.* the Fort made a Mixture of Harmony and Noise. He enter'd upon the Government and immediately took a View of the Galleys, Warlike Preparations being of the greatest Consequence in those Parts. He found them shatter'd, and almost gone to Ruin, refitted one, and furnish'd another with Slaves, and all other Necessaries. All things were before in such Disorder, and Confusion, that it was hard to distinguish betwixt the Galley Slaves and the Soldiers, the former going about as free, and gay as the latter. He blam'd this Liberty, and order'd the Heads and Beards of the Slaves to be shav'd, and that they should be chain'd. Next he took in hand the Divisions, Manners, and civil Government of the City, and there was soon a Reformation of Abuses, and publick Crimes, all this he perform'd by his Valour, and Example. He also review'd the Horse and Foot; repair'd the Fortifications; attended all Martial Affairs; had his Gates always open to decide Controversies, without Distinction of Persons; and tho' he had here considerable Opportunities offer'd him, and much Matter to discover his Capacity, and the Greatness of his Soul, yet he found in himself greater Hopes and Desires, above what was present, and exciting him to advance farther, and to make known to the World that generous Restlessness, which was afterwards serviceable to the Church, by restoring its former Honour, in the remotest Provinces.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. VI.

Gomez Perez builds four Gallies, and makes Slaves wrongfully

Taes of Gold their Value.

Discontent in the Philippines.

The Governors excuses.

IN the mean while *Gomez Perez*, still carrying on his Preparations, conceal'd the Design, without sparing any charge for Shipping, Provisions, or Men. Among other Necessaries, he built four choice Gallies, and for the manning of them, took a Method which was look'd upon as severe. He Order'd, That as many *Indians* who were Slaves to other *Indians* of Quality, as would serve to Man the Gallies, should be bought up, and Paid for by the *Spaniards*, who were Proprietors, out of their own Money, setting the Price of each Slave at two *Taes* in Gold, each *Tae* being little above an Ounce, which was the Price Slaves had in former Times been valu'd at among them. He promis'd, that the Proprietors should afterwards be Refunded what they laid out, from the Kings Revenue. Yet this did not seem to mollify the Rigour of the Order; because he improperly call'd those *Indians* Slaves, for their Lords use and love them like Children, set them at their own Tables, and Marry them to their Daughters; besides that, Slaves then were worth more Money. The Concern of those that were to be Sold, was attended by that of the Proprietors, who were to contribute out of their Estates, to defray Charges they look'd upon as not very Necessary, and to Disgust their Vassals, by taking them away forcibly, being never likely to recover the Money they laid down, which they were well assur'd of. The Governour gave out, That those Gallies were to secure the Country, and defend it from the Danger that threatned; because he knew the Emperor of *Japan* was coming to Invade it, with a numerous Fleet; and that it could not be Defended without Gallies, and therefore it was absolutely Necessary to Man them with Slaves, since they had no others to Row. That these were not to be Fetter'd in the Gallies, nor Treated like Slaves, but so kindly us'd, that they themselves should prefer their Entertainment, before that of their Lords, whom they look'd upon as Parents, or Fathers-in-Law.

These

These Allegations, and the absolute Necessity of defending themselves, silenc'd both Parties; but could not stop the Mouth of Fame, for it was already known, what Engagements he made before he came from Spain, to the King, the Ministers, the Kindred, and Fomenters of the Expedition of Ternate, so that whatsoever he conceal'd, was divulg'd by uncertain Authors. However some advis'd him not to rely on the *Chineses*, or *Sangleyes* for the Defence of the *Philippines*; because no natural or civil Tye had ever gain'd, or attracted their Affection towards them. That he ought to remember the fresh Instance of what they did, when his Predecessor employ'd them, and consequently should be watchful over them. That he sending a Supply of Men, Ammunitions and Provisions to the Fort and Town of *Cagayan*, which is on the Coast of that Island of *Luzon*, 80 Leagues from the City *Manila*, and there being then no Ship to send it in, Necessity pressing, he thought he might relieve that Want, by making use of one of the *Chinese* Ships that were then at Anchor in the Harbour, and clear'd in Order to return to *China*. He commanded the Supply to be put aboard her, and the *Chineses* to carry, and in the Way, to land it where he directed, since it was no let to their Voyage; promising to requite and gratify them for that Service. They undertook it with extraordinary Tokens of good Will; but their Artifice appear'd by the Event, and show'd how Men that are upon the Watch, improve Opportunities. The *Chineses* set sail, and the second Day after, when the *Spaniards* were asleep, as believing themselves safe among trusty Friends, they fell upon them so unexpectedly, that they had not Time to stand upon their Guard, but were all murder'd and cast into the Sea. They plunder'd all they carry'd, and dividing the Spoil, sail'd for their own Country. They only sav'd one unhappy *Spanish* Woman, that went with our Men, and took her along with them. They spar'd her Life, but after having insolently abus'd her, they set her ashore, in a Sea-Port Town of the first Part of *China* they made. She presently had Recourse to the Magistrates, whom she acquainted with the Villany those Men had committed, and the Wrongs they had done her; but tho' favourably heard by those Judges, she had no Satisfaction for her Wrongs, nor could she obtain Justice. However they appointed Officers to carry her up the Country, remitting her to other Supream Magistrates. In this Journey, which was many Leagues, she endur'd more than she had done before, till some of the Governours taking Compassion on her and her Tears, carry'd her to the City of *Macao*, where the *Portugueses* reside, and set her at Liberty. Thus the whole Matter came to be known, and it was at *Manila* in the Mouths of all Men, who now magnify'd it, upon Occasion of the New Enterprize.

In short, all the Slaves demanded by the Governour *Gomez Perez*, were raised with much Trouble and Oppression, and in the same Manner they were put into the Gallies, where they continu'd some Time before they departed, and many of them dy'd, as not being us'd to that sort of Life. All those Slaves were not sufficient to Man the Gallies, and the Admiral Galley remain'd without Rowers. This, and the Necessity of finishing the Work produc'd a more rigorous Practice than the former. The Governour order'd that 250 of the *Chineses*, who resort to the *Philippines* to Trade,

The Defen
against the
Moluccos
takes Air.

Falsbood of
the Chi-
neses.

Spanish
Woman a-
bandon'd
in China.

Chineses
put into
the Gallies.

Trade, should be taken to Man the Admiral Galley, and each of them to be allow'd two Pieces of Eight a Month, out of the King's Revenue. He assur'd them, they should not be chain'd, but at Liberty, and with their Arms, to serve as Soldiers; and that they should only row in the Gallies when there was any Calm, and to weather some Capes. The *Chineses* being acquainted by their *Chinese* Governour with this Resolution, positively refus'd it, as an intolerable Burden. But our Governour pressing to bring about his Design, the *Chinese* assembled his People, to treat about the Affair, and contrive how 250 might be chosen out from among them all, threatening that he would take every Tenth Man out of their Houses. These Words provok'd them to such a Degree, that the next Day they shut up the very Windows of their Houses, and the Traders their Shops, and stopp'd the Provisions which run through their Hands. Our Governour seeing this Proceeding, and alledging that they mutiny'd, caus'd about 50 of those that came next to hand, to be seiz'd, and put to the Oar in the Galley. The others terrify'd by this Action, met, and drew from among them all, the 250, and because no Man would be of that Number, they divided 20000 Pieces of Eight among those that would comply, and gave every *Chinese* that would go in the Galley 80 Pieces of Eight, besides the King's Pay. By Means of this good Encouragement, there was no Want of *Chineses* that list'd themselves to row, but the 20000 Pieces of Eight were consum'd among them, or rather among the Officers. These 250 *Chineses* were form'd into five Companies, under five *Chinese* Christian Captains, who pass'd Musters and Reviews, with Pikes and *Catanes*, which differ little from Cymiters, and express'd Joy and Satisfaction.

Whilst these Things were in Agitation, Brother *Gaspar Gomez* came to *Manila*, full of Intelligence, whereof he gave the Governour an Account, at several private Conferences. He said, the King of *Ternate's* Affairs were in no ill Posture; tho' somewhat weak'ned, by not agreeing with the Prime Men of his Kingdom; and that many of them threatned, they would Rebel, on Account of his Tyranny, and because he rais'd intolerable Taxes. That then, neither the *Javaneses*, nor the *Lascarines*, nor the *Moors* of *Mecca* frequented *Ternate*, as they had done at the Time when Captain *Morones* arriv'd there, under the Government of *Santiago de Vera*. He gave very particular Information concerning the two Forts of *Talangame*. That the King of *Ternate* had then about 3000 common Soldiers, 1000 Musquetiers, and a great Number from his other Kingdoms. That they fought with Darts, *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, and Shields; and others had Coats of Mail, and Head-Pieces they got from the *Portugueses*, in exchange for Spice. That they had Abundance of Ammunition, all of their own making, of the Materials the *Javaneses* brought to barter for Clove. That the Principal Place was the City *Ternate*, where the King and all his Court reside, and therefore it is best secur'd, and from thence all others are supply'd, supported, and encourag'd. He advis'd that our Men should assault it before Break of Day; because all Attacks made upon those People in the Morning Watch had been successful. That, if our Fleet came unexpected, it would certainly succeed; but that the said King had his Spies spread abroad in almost all those Islands,

P. Gaspar
Gomez
brings In-
telligence.

Strength of
Ternate.

How to be
attack'd.

as far as those of *Canela*, *Sarrangan* and *Mindanao*. That a good Number of Brass Sakers, and other great Guns might be brought in the *Carcoas*, from the Fort of *Amboyna*, and the Kings of *Sian*, and *Tydore*. That the People of *Amboyna* would send them upon Command, those of *Sian* and *Tydore*, upon very small Intreaty; because besides their owning the Crown of *Spain*, they are Enemies to *Ternate*. That the necessary Preparation for finishing the War, even in case the King of *Tydore* should fail, and it might be suspected he would not willingly see his Enemy utterly destroy'd, consisted in Artillery and Shipping, which was ready, and above 1200 Soldiers well arm'd, with their Coats of Mail and Head-Pieces, till they went over to the Island of *Banda*, to put in the necessary Garrison there. That there should be a Number of Light Vessels to take the Enemy flying; for by that Means the War would be quite concluded in a short Time, and without Bloodshed. That even the Malecontent *Ternates* declar'd, and publish'd as much, and own'd, that if a considerable Number of Fighting Men should come into their Country, they would all come in and submit without striking Stroke. Hence he inferr'd, that there were conceal'd Christians in the *Molucco* Islands. That the Conquest of the whole Island of *Banda*, was very advantageous and profitable, and not hazardous, and that the Neighbourhood of *Amboyna*, which was ours, would be of great Consequence for maintaining it. He further affirm'd, That the *Portugueses* very much facilitated the Enterprize, and magnify'd the great Benefit it would be to his Majesty; and that *F. Antony Marta*, of whom the Governour had so great a Conceit, was of the same Opinion. Brother *Gaspár Gomez* added so many Circumstances to these particular Accounts, that he wholly inflam'd the Governour's Heart.

Light Vessels of good Use.

At this Time, *Landara*, King of *Camboxa*, sent the Governour an Embassy by two *Spanish* Commanders, attended by many of his Subjects, with such Splendor as the Occasion of it requir'd. That barbarous King thought fit his Embassadors should not be natural born Subjects, because of the Occasion his People had given him to suspect their Fidelity. He chose them of Different Conditions, to the End that such Variety, the Diversity of Inclinations, and Opposition, might produce the better Effect. The one of them was a *Portuguese*, his Name *James Velloso*, the other a *Spaniard*, *Blas Ruyz de Fernan Gonzalez*. They brought *Gomez Perez* a Magnificent Present, a great Quantity of *Ivory*, *Benjamin*, *China Ware*, Pieces of *Silk* and *Cotton*, and an *Elephant* of a generous Temper, as afterwards appear'd by Experience. They deliver'd their Embassy, the Purport whereof was, to desire Succour against the King of *Sian*, who was marching against him of *Camboxa*, with a numerous Army; offering in Return for his Assistance to become subject to *Spain*, and embrace Christianity. That the King concluded, that so brave and gallant a Gentleman as *Gomez Perez*, would not on Account of any other Diversion refuse to perform an Action, which must redound so much to the Glory of God, and the Advantage of the Crown of *Spain*. The Governour receiv'd the Present, making a Return with another of some *European* Curiosities; and by way of Answer, thank'd that King for the Confidence he had seem'd to place in him; but that, for the Present, he could not possibly afford the Succours, nor divert those Forces, which he was getting ready, to punish the King

King of Camboxa sends Spaniards Embassadors to the Governour.

Their Present.

Subject of their Embassy.

The Answer.

of *Ternate*, and recover that Kingdom, and the rest of the *Moluccos*, which had Rebell'd, so much to the Dishonour of the *Spanish* Nation. That his Highness should place his Confidence in the Goodness of God, and persevere in the Design of serving him in his Holy and True Religion, and as soon as the Expedition of *Ternate* was over, he would convert his Forces to the Relief of *Camboja*. The Embassadors were dismiss'd with these Hopes, which the Governours Son, *Don Lewis de las Marinas*, afterwards made good; and to give them entire Satisfaction, and justify the Delay, it was found necessary to make Publick the true Design of that Fleet, which till then had been kept secret.

**Mighty Preparati-
ons against
Ternate.** The Governour, in fine, resolv'd to set forward, and endeavour'd to take along with him all the Men he could get. All were list'd that could be prevail'd upon either by Force or Intreaties. The Proprietors and Soldiers were extravagantly expensive, upon the Ships, Provisions, and Gallantry; and the *Philippines* being well furnish'd with all Things, they

**Prediction
of ill Suc-
cess.** did more than had been imagin'd, or could be in the Governour's Power. He sent his Son *Don Lewis*, with all the Soldiers that were in Pay, to the Island of *Zebu*, where the Fleet was to rendezvous, and there he continued six Months, waiting for new Orders. *Gomez Perez* stay'd at *Manila*, ordering Matters of great Moment. Two Days before his Departure, being invited by, and supping in the House of *Peter de Rojas*, his Lieutenant, where diverting himself with Gaming, and much Pleasure, he grew so merry, contrary to his Custom, and the Harshness of his Temper, that many interpreted it as a good Omen of his Success. He said in Discourse, that *F. Vincent*, of the Order of *St. Francis*, had told him, the Enterprize could not succeed, because the Army was made up of Men that were carry'd away by Force, and particularly the marry'd Men were so. He departed *Manila* on the 17th of *October*, with six Royal Gallies, one Galleon, one small Vessel call'd a *Foist*, one little Frigot, and several other Frigots, Carcoas, and Bireyes, which are another Sort of Vessels of the Natives; all which, being part the Kings, and part be-

**The Fleet
sets out.**

Its Force.

longing to Subjects, who offer'd to serve him with their Lives and Fortunes, amounted to an hundred. There were a Thousand *Spaniards* well arm'd; above four hundred Musquetiers of the Territory of *Manila*; a thousand more of those they call *Visaias*, Men arm'd with Lances, Shields, Bows and Arrows, and above four hundred *Chineses*, of those that dwelt in the Island, besides a good Number of those that came to Trade taken into Pay; but many more Compell'd than Volunteers. The Gallies carry'd Abundance of Provisions for the Army, over which he appointed his Son *Don Lewis Perez*, his Lieutenant, and sent him before, as has been said, with Orders to make for the Island of *Zebu*. He embark'd himself aboard the Admiral-Galley, which had twenty eight Benches for the Men to row, and was mann'd with the 250 *Chineses* for the Oar. Eighty *Spaniards* were put aboard it; they touch'd at *Cabite*, sail'd thence on the 19th, and with them some Vessels, in which there were private Persons, who follow'd at their own Expence, coasting the Island of *Manila* as far as *Balinjan*. They parted, because the Vessels kept in Sight of Land, and the Governour put out to Sea. On the 25th he came alone to pass the Night, at the Point call'd *de Azufre*, or of Brimstone, in the Island of *Manila*, opposite

opposite to that of *Caza*, where the Current, and the Drift of the Water from the Land run strong, and the Breezes then blowing, the Galley could not weather it. He anchor'd under the Shelter of it, and yet dragg'd a little with the Force of the Current. They made the *Chineses* row excessive hard, to bring her up again under the Land. In short, they row'd very faintly, either because they were not us'd to that Labour, and forc'd to the Oar, or because they were then tir'd, and incens'd with the Command. Other contrary Winds started up, which again obstructed their Voyage, and to weather some Points of Land, it was necessary to ply the Oars, and to vex the Crew, with the usual Severity and Punishment commonly insisted aboard the Gallies. They thought this hard, and contrary to what the Governour had assur'd them, which was, that they should be kindly treated; but neither the Lash, nor the Threats, nor the stemming of the Currents, with the Vigour and Sweat of their Bodies, seem'd so intollerable, and injurious to them, as to hear the angry and stern Governour himself bid them row manfully, for if they did not, he would put them in Chains, and cut off their Hair. This to the *Chineses* is an Affront that deserves Death, for they place their Honour in their Hair, which they cherish and preserve very fair, and value themselves upon it, as the Ladies in *Europe* us'd to do, all their Delight and Reputation being in keeping it curiously comb'd. Hereupon they resolv'd to mutiny, to prevent such an Affront and Contempt. The next Night, which was the 25th of *October*, being appointed for the Execution, when the tir'd *Spaniards* laid themselves down upon the Benches, and other convenient Places in the Vessel, the *Chineses* did so too, but cunningly dividing themselves, every one lay down by a *Spaniard*, pretending to be asleep. In the dead of the last Watch, which they thought the properest and safest Time, seeing the *Spaniards* sound asleep, the *Chineses*, upon hearing of a shrill Whistle, which was the Signal agreed upon between them, started up all together, and every Man with wonderful Celerity put on a white Vest, or Shirt, that they might know one another in the Height of their Fury, and the Darkness of the Night, and so distinguish where to make the Slaughter, tho' for the more Security, they also lighted abundance of Wax-Candles, which they had conceal'd wrap'd up in those white Vests. Then they drew their *Catanas*, which are keener, and more crooked than our *Cymiters*, and began without any Noise every Man to hew his next *Spaniard*; so proceeding in their Fury, and killing all those that slept. Above 60 Persons had imbarc'd in the Admiral-Galley, some of them being the Governour's Servants, and other old Soldiers, who suffer'd Inconveniences to oblige and divert him. They had play'd all the Night, and being tir'd, and the Heat very violent, they lay naked, some on the Gang-Way in the middle of the Galley, others on the Benches, and the greatest Favourites, who had more Room allow'd them, in the Poop, and to that Purpose the Governour retired into the Cabin. The *Chineses* continu'd the Execution, on those who slept, without any Mistrust, which was done so expeditiously, that when some of those who slept in the Poop awak'd, the other *Spaniards* were all kill'd. The Watch heard nothing of it, tho' their could be no Excuse for that Neglect, because there had been Instances and Warnings enough before. Others awak'd, and feeling themselves

Chineses
at the Oars
ill us'd.

The Go-
vernour
threatens
them.

The Chi-
neses rebel
and kill the
Spaniards.

Many of
them
drowned.
Only 12
escape.

The Govern-
or kill'd.

selves wounded, in the Confusion leap'd into the Sea, where most of them were drown'd; some few cast themselves into the Sea before they were hurt, and were also swallow'd up by it, tho' they were near Land, because the Current being strong, they could not stem it; twelve escap'd, and many Bodies were found along the Shores.

The *Chineses* now grown bold, drew out the Pikes they had hid under the Benches, and finish'd their Treacherous Work with Noise. The Governor, who was under Deck, Sleeping, with a Candle and Lanthorn by him, Awak'd; and that he might do so, they made the greater Noise; and the *Chineses* themselves cry'd out to him, desiring he would come up to pacify a Quarrel there was among the *Castillas*, so they call the *Spaniards*. He, for this Reason, or believing the Galley dragg'd, as it had done at other times, getting up in his Shirt, and opening the Scuttle, look'd out, lifting half his Body above it: At the same time the *Chineses* tell upon him with their Cymiters, and wounded him Mortally, clutting his Head, and running him through with their Pikes in more than barbarous manner. Seeing his Death near he drew back, and took up the Prayer Book of his Order, which he always carry'd about him, and an Image of our Blessed Lady, and ended his Life between those two Advocates, which were afterwards seen bathed in his Blood: Yet he dy'd not presently, for they afterwards found him in his Bed, embracing the Image, where he Bled to Death, and about him the Bodies of *Daniel Gomez de Leon*, his Valet de Chamber, *Pantaleon de Brito*, *Sucro Diaz*, *John de Chavez*, *Peter Maseda*, *John de S. Juan*, *Carrion Ponce*, and *Francis Castillo*, all of them his Servants, and four brave Slaves, who had the same End. This was not known till it was Day; because none of the *Chineses* durst go down where the Governor was that Night, fearing least some of the 80 *Spaniards* that were in the Galley, had retir'd thither; such was the Dread of their own Guilt. None were left alive in the Galley, but *F. Francis Montilla*, of the Barefoot Order of *S. Francis*, and *John de Cuellar*, the Governors Secretary, who lay under Deck, whether the fainthearted *Chineses* durst not go down in three Days, when their first Fury was over. Then they afterwards set Ashore, on the Coast of *Ilocos*, in the same Island of *Luzon*, that the Natives might suffer them to Water; and because the Frier and the Secretary had Capitulated, having their promise that they would do them no hurt, before they surrendered. The *Chineses* being satisfy'd that there were no more ancient Christians left, began to Shout and Roar for Joy that they had gone through with their Work, and had no Man more to stand in Awe of.

Two sav'd
alive.

The *Chine-
ses* sail for
China.

The *Spaniards*, who were in the other Vessels, near the Shore, tho' they saw the Lights, and heard a confus'd Noise aboard the Admiral, thought it might be on account of some Work belonging to the Galley, or the like. When, a long time after, they understood how matters went, from those who sav'd themselves by Swimming, they lay still, not being able to redress it. They were but few; had not Strength enough; and the Mischief was done. They stay'd till Morning, and when Day appear'd, perceiv'd that the Galley had set her Shoulder-of-Mutton-Sail, and was standing for *China*, but they could not follow her: The Wind favouring, she sail'd all along the Coast of the Island, till they got clear of it, the *Chineses* all the way Celebrating their Victory.

The

The Frier and the Secretary, who were among them, being fully persuaded they would soon kill them, and fearing it would be after some of their cruel Methods, holding up their Hands, begg'd they would allow them some Time to make their Peace with God; and in case they would put them to Death, that it might be by Beheading, and not any other inhuman Way. One of the *Chineses* bid them not Fear, for they should not Dye. They all lay'd down their bloody Weapons, and prostrating themselves, return'd Thanks to Heaven in most humble manner, beating Drums, and ringing Bells they carry'd, according to their Custom. The two Christians being then bolted to a Bench in the Galley, during 15 Days their Captivity lasted, were fed with a small Proportion of Rice, boi'd in Water, without Salt, continually looking upon the Blood of their Companions that had been spilt, wherewith all the Deck was Stain'd. They shed Abundance of Tears on it, besides those they hourly let fall with the Apprehension of Death, those *Chineses*, like faithless false Men, designing to take away their Lives, in some strange manner. They weigh'd, and sailed between the Islands of *Mindanao* and *Luban*, towards *China*, and Coasting along *Manila* towards *Cagayan*, some contrary Winds happening to blow, and Calms succeeding, they were much concern'd, fearing, that if the News of their Treachery reach'd the *Philippines*, they would send after and overtake them. This Dread made them have recourse to their Gods, and call upon them, offering several sorts of Sacrifices, Perfumes, and Prayers, which the Devil often answer'd in formal Words, by the Mouths of such as were Possessed, whom he Enter'd to that Purpose, for there never wanted two or three such, all the time those Christians were in the Galley. What they saw was, that when least they thought of it, and on a sudden, the Person possessed began to quake, from Head to Foot. The others seeing him in that Condition, said, *Some God was coming to Speak to them*. Then coming up to him, with Tokens of Respect, they unty'd, and spread abroad his Hair; and stripping him quite naked set him on his Feet, and he presently fell a Dancing to the Noise of some Drum, or Bell, they beat or rung. They put a Cymiter, or Spear into his Hand, and as he danc'd he brandish'd it over all their Heads, with no small danger of hurting them, which they were not the least apprehensive of; alledging, that their God, tho' he did so, would never hurt them, without they were guilty of some Sin against him.

The two Prisoners beg an easy Death, and are promis'd their Lives.

The Chineses invoke their Gods.

Some of them possess'd.

Before the Devil had possess'd any in the Galley, the *Chineses* were concerting to murder the Christians, believing they were the Occasion, why God did not give them a fair Wind for their Voyage; but that watchful sovereign Providence, without whose Direction the least Accident does not happen, making Use of the Devil himself as an Instrument, prevented it by Means of those very Persons who offended it. The Person possess'd ask'd for Ink and Paper, which being presently brought him, he made certain Characters and confus'd Scrawls, which being expounded by the others in the Galley, they found signify'd, that those two Men were harmless, therefore they should not kill them, which was no small Encouragement to the Prisoners. However this lasted not long, for some others who were possess'd after the first, tormented them cruelly, especially one of them, who was the maddest. He told the *Chineses*, that if he should happen to hurt those Men, as he brandish'd the Weapon he had in his Hand over

Christians preserv'd by Means of the Devil.

them

*Horred
practices
upon the
Prisoners.*

them, making Essays, as if he cut and slash'd, then they must kill them immediately ; because it would be a certain Sign, that their Gods requir'd it, and that their being in the Ship was the Occasion, why they gave them not a fair Gale. All the Men in the Galley assembled, to behold that Spectacle, and the Person possess'd having for a considerable Space walk'd about the Gang-Way, with extravagant Gestures, went then to the Place where the Religious Man and his Companion were ; there growing hellishly irrag'd, he commanded all the rest to stand aside, and being left with only the two Prisoners, began to make hideous Faces and Grimaces at them, when getting upon the Table in the mid Part of the Galley, he thence threw his Cymiter at them, with such Fury, that it stuck in the Deck, between their Feet. Seeing he had not hurt nor touch'd them, he ask'd for it again to make a second and third Tryal, sticking it every Time so deep, that the others could scarce draw it out from the Planks. This done, he bid them give him a Partesan, with which he hack'd, hew'd, and thrust, in such frightful and dangerous Manner, that the *Chineses* themselves were astonish'd. He kept them above an hour in that Dread and Affliction, without daring to stir, or beg for Mercy ; believing it would not avail them, but that on the contrary, whatsoever they could say might be prejudicial. Thus having plac'd all their Hopes, and Confidence on that sovereign Lord, who even when he delays does not fail to give Assistance, they call'd upon him, and offer'd themselves up to him in fervent Prayers ; particularly the Religious Man, repeating some Psalms and Verses, which his former Devotion, excited by the present Danger, brought into his Mind, and were suitable to that Occasion, and such like Exigencies ; by which, as he afterwards said, he receiv'd great Comfort, and Addition of Courage. This sort of miserable Life, and these Torments lasted all or most Days during therein Captivity.

*The Chi-
neses land,
820 of
them are
kill'd.*

*They
drown one
of their
own Men.*

At length, the *Chineses* perceiving they could not possibly perform the Voyage they desir'd, by Reason the Wind was contrary ; they resolv'd to land on the Island of *Ilocos*, not far from *Luzon*, at the Port they call *Sinay*. They being there ashore to Water, the Natives knowing they had murder'd the Governour, laid an Ambush and kill'd twenty of them, and might have destroyed above eighty that had landed, if they had not wanted Courage ; because at the very Shout the Men gave, when falling on, they were so daunted, that they all fled several Ways in Confusion, throwing down their Arms, endeavouring to save their Lives, by leaping into the Sea, so to get off in the Boat. The *Chineses* meeting with this Disaster, and thinking one of their own Men had been the Occasion of it, because he advis'd them to put into that Port, they resolv'd to seize and put him to Death. They did as had been resolv'd, and at Night, by unanimous Consent, threw him into the Sea, then weighing their Anchors, they got out of that Harbour, and put into another, three Leagues off, on the same Coast. There the Devil eutering into one of them, as he us'd to do, commanded them immediately to return to the Port, where they had sustain'd that Loss of their Friends and Companions, and that they should not depart thence, till they had sacrific'd a Man to him, without appointing which he would have. They immediately obey'd the Command, one of the *Chief Chineses* making Choice of one of the Christian *Indians* of the *Philippines*.

prisoners they had Prisoners, to be Sacrific'd, and ty'd his Hands and Feet, stretching them on a Cross, which they rais'd up, and the Christian being bound against the fore-Mast, one of those possess'd by the Devil came up to him in Sight of them all, and playing the part of an Executioner, ripp'd up his Breast, with one of those Daggers they use, making a wound so large, that he thrust in his Hand with ease, and pluck'd out part of his Entrails, whereof, with horrid Fury, he bit a Mouthful, and casting the rest up into the Air, eat what he had in his Mouth, and lick'd his Hands, pleasing himself with the Blood that stuck to them.

An Indian cruelly Sacrific'd.

Having committed the Murder, they took the Cross, and him that was on it, and cast it and the Martyr into the Sea, which receiv'd that Body, offer'd in Sacrifice to the Devil, then to be cloath'd in Glory, by him that has provided it for those who suffer for the Confession of the Faith. This dreadful Spectacle struck Horror, and rais'd Emulation in the two Christians, who beheld it with Zeal, and had expected as much before. The Inhuman Sacrifice being over, they put out of the Harbour, and having for some days Coasted the Island with Difficulty; one of them, by command of the Possess'd Person, who had order'd the Sacrifice, with the consent of them all, set at liberty the Religious Man, the Secretary, and all the Indians they had Prisoners, putting them ashore in the Boat, and then the Chineses stood out to Sea. They endeavour'd to make over to China, but not being able, put into Cochinchina, where the King of Tunquin took all they had, and among the rest two heavy Pieces of Cannon, that had been put aboard for the Expedition of the Moluccos, the King's Standard, and all the Jewels, Goods, and Money. He suffer'd the Galley to perish on the Coast, and the Chineses dispers'd, flying into several Provinces. Others affirm, that King seiz'd and punish'd them.

They cast him into the Sea.

The Secretary and Friar set at Liberty.

The Spaniards that escap'd, went to carry the News to Manila, where Spaniards some griev'd, and others, who hated the Governour for his Severity, rejoiced; but that ill Will soon vanish'd, and all generally lamented him; more especially when some of the Bodies were found and brought in. Among them were those of the Ensign, John Diaz Guerrero, an old Soldier, and Governour of Cebu; of the Ensign Penalosa, Proprietor of Pila; the great Soldier Sabagun, whose Wife ran roaring about the City; of Captain Castano, newly come over from Spain; of Francis Rodriguez Perulero; of Captain Peter Neyla; of John de Sotomayer; of Simon Fernandez; that of his Sergeant; of Guzman; of the Ensign and Sergeant of the Company brought by Don Philip de Samano, who being sick transferr'd it to Captain John Xuares Gallinato; and those of Sebastian Ruis and Lewis Alez, these two Merchants, all the rest old Soldiers; whose Funerals renew'd the Sorrow for that dismal Accident.

that escap'd came to Manila.

Bodies found.

This News being brought to Manila, and no Papers of the Governour's appearing, wherein he nam'd, who was to succeed him, tho' it was known he had the King's Order so to do, believing it might be lost in the Galley, among much of the Kings, his own, and private Persons Goods, the City therefore chose the Licentiate Rojas for their Governour, and he was so forty Days. But the Secretary John de Cuellar returning to Manila, in a miserable Condition, with F. Francis de Montilla, gave Notice, that Gomez Perez, before his Departure had appointed his Son Don Lewis to succeed, and that this would be found at the Monastery of S. Augustin, in a Box,

Rojas chose Governour by the City.

Don Lewis among other Papers, in the Custody of *F. James Munnoz*. *Rojas* had already sent Orders to *Cebu*, for all the People employ'd in the Expedition, to return, as was accordingly done. So that *Don Lewis* coming, notwithstanding some Protestations, he, by Virtue of his Father's Authority, succeeded him in the Government, till *Don Francis Tello* came.

Character of Gomez Perez. Such was the End of that Gentleman, whose Actions were valuable in themselves, and the more for the Zeal he did them with. He wanted not for political and martial Virtues, nor for Prudence in both Sorts; but he would not regard Examples; and contrary to what those taught him, durst promise himself to succeed, so that he became confident, if not rash. But his Christian Piety makes Amends for all.

The Fleet dismiss'd.

Don Lewis, his Kindred and Friends, would fain have prosecuted the Expedition to the *Moluccos*, and to this End *F. Antony Fernandez* came from *Tydore*; but he succeeded not. The Fleet was dismiss'd, and it was a singular Providence for the Security of the *Philippine* Islands; for presently after, at the Beginning of the Year 1594, there came thither a great Number of Ships from *China*, loaded only with Men and Arms, and brining no Merchandize, as they are wont to do. Those Ships brought seven *Mandarines*, being some of the chief Viceroy's and Governours of the Provinces. It was believ'd, and prov'd certainly true, that they knowing *Gomez Perez* went upon that Expedition, to which he took with him all the *Spaniards*, concluded the Country was left defenceless, and therefore came with a Design to Conquer, or plunder it, which would have been very easy, had they found it as they expected. They went out of their Ships but twice to visit *Don Lewis*, with great State, and much Attendance. He receiv'd them affectionately, and presented every *Mandarine* with a gold Chain. They told him, they came by their King's Order, to pick up the *Chineses*, who wander'd about those Islands without his Leave; but this was look'd upon as a meer Pretence; because there was no Need, for that Effect, of so many *Mandarines*, nor such a Number of Vessels arm'd and furnish'd for War. The *Chineses* who murder'd *Gomez Perez*, were of *Chincheo*, and therefore *Don Lewis*, as knowing the certain Criminals, sent his Kinsman *Don Ferdinand de Castro*, in a Ship, to give the King of *China* an Account of that Treachery; but his Voyage miscarry'd, and all was left in Suspence.

Arm'd Chineses in the Philippines.

Mandarines visit Don Lewis

King of Camboxa demands the promis'd Succour.

Camboxa described.

Opinions of the Natives.

At this Time *Langara*, King of *Camboxa* made Instance for the Succours, and requir'd *Don Lewis* to perform his Father's Promise made to him not long before. He therefore, in Pursuance to it, and to the End that those Forces, or some Part of them, might continue in the Church's Service, since they were provided for that End, in the Design of *Ternate*, resolv'd to support that King with them.

Camboxa is one of the most fertile of the *Indian* Regions. It sends Abundance of Provisions to other Parts, for which Reason it is frequented by *Spaniards*, *Persians*, *Arabs*, and *Armenians*. The King is a *Mahometan*; but his Subjects the *Gusarats* and *Banians*, follow the Precepts of *Pythagoras*, perhaps without any Knowledge of him. They are all sharp witted, and reputed the cunningest Merchants in *India*. However they are of Opinion, that after Death, Men, Brute Beasts, and all Creatures, receive either Punishment, or Reward; so confus'd a Notion have they of Immortality. The City *Camboxa*, which gives its Name to all the Country, is also call'd

Champa,

Champa, abounding in the Odoriferous *Calambuco* Wood, whose Tree call'd *Calamba*, grows in unknown Regions, and there'ore has not been seen standing. The Floods upon those great Rivers bring down Trunks of it, and this is the precious *Lignum Aloes*. *Cambixa* produces Corn, Rice, Pease, Butter, and Oyl. There are made in it various Sorts of Cotton Webs, Muslins, Buckrams, Calicoes, white and painted, Dinities, and other curious Pieces exceeding the finest in *Holland*. They also adorn their Rooms with Carpets; tho' they are not like those brought out of *Persia* to *Ormuz*. They weave others for the common Sort, which they call *Bancales*, not unlike the *Scotch* Plads. Nor do they want the Art of Silk-Weaving, for they both weave, and work with the Needle, rich Hangings, Coverings for the low Chairs us'd by the Women of Quality, and for the *Indian* Litters, or *Palanquines*, which are made of Ivory, and Tortoise-Shell, and of the same they make Chets-Boards, and Tables to Play, Seal-Rings, and other portable Things. In the Mountains there is found a sort of Chrystal, extraordinary transparent, whereof they make Beads, little Idols, Bracelets, Necklaces, and other Toys. It abounds in Amethysts, Garnets, the Sort of Saphirs call'd Hyacinths, Spinets, Cornelians, Chrysolites, Cats Eyes, properly call'd *Acates*, all of them precious Stones; There are also those they call Milk, and Blood Stones, pleasant, and medicinal Fruits, Opium, Bangué, Sanders, Alom and Sugar. *Indigo* is incomparably prepar'd in *Cambixa*, and thence sent to several Provinces. The living Creatures are the same *Asia* affords in those Parts, Elephants, Lions, Horses, wild Boars, and other fierce Beasts. It is in Ten Degrees of North Latitude. The River *Mecon* waters all the Kingdom, and in it falls into the Sea; being look'd upon as the greatest in *India*, carrying so much water in Summer, that it floods, and covers the Fields, like the *Nile* in *Egypt*. It joyns another of less Stock, at the Place call'd *Chordemuco*. This River, for six Months runs backward. The Reason of it is the Extent and Plainness of the Country it runs along. The Southern Breezes choak up the Bar with Sand. The Currents thus damm'd up, swell and rise together, after much Struggling one against the other. The Bar looks to the South-ward, both Waters at first Form a deep Bay, and finding no free Passage out, but being drove by the mighty Violence of the Winds, are forc'd to submit and bend their Course the wrong Way, till a more favourable Season restores them to their natural Course. We see some such like Effects in *Spain*, where the *Tagus* falls into the Sea of *Portugal*, and the *Guadalquivir* into that of *Andaluzia*, oppos'd by the superior Force of the Sea Waves, and of the Winds.

About this Time, in the remotest Part of this Country, beyond impenetrable Woods, not far from the Kingdom of the *Laos*, was discover'd a City, of above six thousand Houses, now call'd *Angon*. The Structures, and Streets, all of massy Marble Stones, artificially wrought, and as entire, as if they had been modern Works. The Wall strong, with a Scarp, or Slope within, in such Manner, that they can go up to the Battlements every where. Those Battlements all differ one from another, representing sundry Creatures, one represents the Head of an Elephant, another of a Lion, a third of a Tiger, and so proceed in continual Variety. The Ditch, which is also of hew'd Stones, is capable of receiving Ships. Over it is a magnificent Bridge, the Arches of it being supported by stone

Giants of a prodigious Height. The Aqueducts, tho' dry, show no less Grandeur. There are Remains of Gardens, and delightful Places, where the Aqueducts terminate. On one Side of the Town is a Lake above thirty Leagues in Compass. There are Epitaphs, Inscriptions, and Characters not understood. Many Buildings are more sumptuous than the rest, most of them of Alabaster, and Jasper Stone. In all this City, when first discovered by the Natives, they found no People, nor Beasts, nor any living Creatures, except such as Nature produces out of the Breaches of Ruins. I own I was unwilling to write this, and that I have look'd upon it as an imaginary City of *Plato's Atlantis*, and of that his Common-Wealth; but there is no wonderful Thing, or Accident, that is not subject to much Doubt. It is now Inhabited, and our Religious Men, of the Order of *St. Augustin* and *St. Dominick*, who have Preach'd in those Parts, do testify the Truth of it. A Person of Reputation for his Learning, conjectures it was the Work of the Emperor *Traian*; but tho' he extended the Empire more than his Predecessors, I have not ever Read that he reach'd as far as *Camboxa*. Were the Histories of the *Chineses* as well known as ours, they would inform us, why they abandon'd so great a Part of the World; they would explain the Inscriptions on the Buildings, and all the rest that is unknown to the Natives themselves. I know not what to say of so Beautiful a City's being buried in Oblivion, or not known. It is rather a Subject of Admiration than Reflection.

Three Spanish Ships sent to the Relief of Camboxa.

King of Camboxa routed by him of Siam.

Design to murder the Spaniards.

Don Lewis being zealous to bring those Nations into the Bosom of the Church, and their Wealth, and Kings under the Subjection of the Crown of Spain, fitted out three Ships, under the Command of *John Xuarez Gallinato*, born at *Tenerife*, one of the *Canary Islands*, with 120 *Spaniards*, and some *Philippines*. They Sail'd from *Cebu*, but there rose a Storm immediately, which dispers'd the Ships. *Gallinato* drove on by the Fury of the Winds, arriv'd at *Malaca*, and the other two at *Camboxa*. Going up the River, they were Inform'd, That the King of *Sian* had defeated him of *Camboxa*, his Neighbour; who, with the wretched Remains of his Army, fled into the Kingdom of the *Laos*, a Neighbouring but Inhumane Nation; and that, whilst he was begging Compassion among those obdurate Hearts, the King of *Sian* had set up *Prauncar*, Nick-nam'd, *Wry Mouth the Traitor*, Brother to the vanquish'd Monarch, for King of *Camboxa*. This Accident did not obstruct the Succours which the *Spaniards* carry'd under Colour of an Embassy. They came to the City *Chordumulo*, 80 Leagues distant from the Bar, and leaving 40 *Spaniards* in the Ships, 40 others went to the Country where the new King was. They made Application to visit him presently, but he would not be seen that Day, tho' he order'd they should have good Quarters, and be told, he would give them Audience three Days after. But *James Velloso* and *Blase Ruyz*, either that they were formerly acquainted with the Country, or some new Subtily occurring, looking on that delay as suspicious, visiting a beautiful *Indian* Woman, of the King's Family, she told them in private, That being admitted into that Tyrants Secrets, he being fond of her, she knew he intended to Murder them all; and that during those three Days he had assign'd them, as it were to Rest, after their Journey, the Men and Means for Executing that Design were to be provided. The *Spaniards* return'd Thanks for the Intelligence, not without promise of Reward. They

They were not dismay'd at the Danger ; but repeating their Thanks to *Desferat* the *Indian* Woman, for her Intelligence, came to this magnanimous, if it may *Bravery of* not be term'd a rash Resolution. They agreed to attack the King's Palace *the Span-* that same Night, and to withstand the whole Army, if Need were. They *iards.* prepar'd themselves for that Enterprize, which was above human Strength, let Fire to the House where the Powder lay, and the People running to help, or to see the Mischief, the *Spaniards*, during the Confusion, enter'd the Palace, and being acquainted with the royal Apartments, made through them, till they came to the King's Person, whom they run thro', and kill'd *They kill* after cutting his Guards in Pieces. He defended himself, calling out *the King of* for Help, but those who came to his Assistance found him bloodless. The *Camboxa.* Report of this Action alarm'd the other Guards, and then all the City, which contains above thirty thousand Inhabitants, who were all running to Arms; above 14000 Men took up such as Occasion offer'd, and came upon the *Spaniards* with many war-like Elephants. Our two Commanders drew up *Retire be-* their little Body, and retir'd in great Order, always fighting and killing *fore 14000* great numbers of their Enemies. The Fight lasted all the Night, with *Indians.* wonderful Bravery, the next Day they got to their Ships, and imbarc'd, leaving that Kingdom full of new Divisions.

The second Day after, *Gallinato* came in, with his Ship. He landed, having been before inform'd of what had happen'd, and thinking he did not perform *Gallinato* his Duty, unless he succour'd the *Spaniards*, when he heard the Drums and *at Cam-* Bells, and saw the Streets and Port full of trading People, now in Arms. *boxa.* He gave strict Orders to those that attended him, to behave themselves very modestly, so as to conceal their own Concern, and deceive the People of *Camboxa*, both by their Looks, and the Sedateness of their Words. The principal Men of *Camboxa* visited him, in peaceable Manner; whom he treated very courteously. He might have perform'd some great Exploit, but finding his Strength too small for such an Enterprize, and that now Affairs had taken another Turn, and were in a different Posture, he thought fit to be gone. Most of those great Men oppos'd it, promising him the Crown, as being well affected to the *Spaniards*, and a foreign Government. *The great* Hence came the idle Report, that *Gallinato* was King of *Camboxa*, which *Men offer* was believ'd by many in *Spain*, and acted on the Stage with Applause, and *him the* good Liking. And it was the Opinion of Persons well acquainted with those *Crown.* Countries, that had *Gallinato* laid hold of the Opportunity offer'd him, he might then have possess'd himself of *Camboxa*, and united it to the Crown of *Castile*.

I have seen Letters of *Velloso*, and *Blase Ruiz*, to the Council at *Manila*, after this Action, wherein they speak to this Effect, and complain that *Gallinato* should blame what they did. But *Gallinato*, whose Judgment, and Valour, had been try'd in the greatest Dangers of those Eastern Parts, and many Years before in *Flanders*, would not suffer himself to be easily *The depos'd* led away by popular Affection, and honourably rejecting that Opportunity, *King's Son* sail'd towards *Manila*. He took in some Refreshment in *Cochinchina*. *Blase* *restor'd.* *Ruiz* and *James Velloso* had landed there before, and went alone by Land to the Kingdom of the *Laos*, which lies West of *Cochinchina*, to seek out the depos'd King *Langara*, and restore him to his Throne. They found he was dead, but had a Son living, who being told how they had kill'd the Usurper,

Usurper, his Uncle and Enemy; he set forward immediately for his Kingdom with *Velloso* and *Ruiz*, and 10000 Men, the King of the *Laos*, contrary to all Expectation furnish'd him. He attack'd *Camboja*, where *Ruiz* and *Velloso* faithfully stuck to him during the War, and afterwards in his Government. Then he sent another Embassy to the *Philippine* Island, asking Supplies of Men to quell the Troubles in his Country, and that he and his Subjects might receive the Faith of *JESUS CHRIST*; promising a considerable Part of his Dominions to the *Spaniards*, to subsist them. This Embassy came to *Manila*, when *Don Lewis* had quitted the Government, and resign'd it up to *Don Francis Tello*, which gave Occasion to *Ternate* to grow more settled in its Tyranny.

D. Pedro
de Acunna
fortifies
Carthage-
na.

Don Pedro de Acunna, who govern'd *Carthagena* in the *West-Indies*, in this Year 1595, either because it was his natural Inclination, or the Necessity of the Times requiring it, fortify'd the Place with Fascines, Planks, Piles, and Ditches, working at it himself in Person. Thus he oblig'd the Bishop, Clergy and Religious Men, to put their Hands to the Work; the very Ladies of Quality, their Daughters and Maids, did not refuse to follow such an Example. It was wonderful to see with what Expedition and Zeal the Work was brought to Perfection, of such Force is a good Example. Soon after came to *Puerto Rico*, the Ship call'd *Pandorga*, or *Borgonna*, that was Admiral of *Tierra Firme*, and *New Spain*, with three Millions in her. The whole under the Care of the General *Sancho Pardo*.

56 English
Sail sent
to rob the
West-Ind-
ies.

At this Time there came into the *West-Indies* a Fleet of 56 Sail, sent by the Queen of *England* to plunder them, under the Command of *John Hawkins* and *Francis Drake*. Captain *Peter Tello* defended the three Millions so bravely with the *Spanish* Frigots, that he sav'd the Prize. *Hawkins* was wounded in the Fight, and dy'd of it before he could come to the Firm Land. *Drake*, with that Fleet, enter'd *Rio de la Hacha* and *Santa Maria*; and being one Night in Sight of *Carthagena*, took a Frigate belonging to that Coast, by which he was inform'd, how well the Governour had fortify'd it; therefore making a Compliment of Necessity, he sent *Don Pedro* a Message by the Men of the Frigor, whom he therefore set at Liberty, saying, He did not attack his Works and City out of Respect to him, and because he honour'd his Valour. The Truth of the Matter was, That *Drake* call'd together his Captains to consult what was to be done, and they all advis'd him to attack the City, promising to do their utmost, and be answerable for the Success; alledging it ought to be attempted, for being a Place of vast Wealth and Consequence. Only *Drake* oppos'd it, strength'ning his Opinion by saying, His Mind did not give him, that the Enterprize could have the Success they would assure him, because they were to have to do with a Knight of *Malta*, a Batchelor, nothing weakened with Womanish Affection, or the Care of Children; but watchful, and intent upon defending the Place, and so Resolute, that he would dye on the Spot before he would lose it. This Opinion prevail'd, and the *English* standing in Awe of *Don Pedro's* Reputation, went away to the Town of *Nombre de Dios*, and took it. *Drake* afterwards designing to do the same at *Panama*, was disappointed, meeting Opposition by the Way, which had been provided upon the Advice sent by *Don Pedro*, that the *English* were moving against that City. But

Drake's
Actions
there.

But let us return into *Asia*. Still the People of *Camboxa* persisted to ask Succours at the *Philippine* Islands, upon the usual Promise of Conversion and Vassalage. *Don Lewis de las Marinhas* undertook the Enterprize in Person, and at his own Cost. He set out from *Manila* with *Don James Jor-dan*, an Italian, *Don Pedro de Figueroa*, *Peter Villestil*, and *Ferdinand de los Rios* Coronel, Spanish Commanders, the last of them then a Priest, who had also been in the first War of *Camboxa*. A Storm took them out at Sea, which lasted three Days, with the usual Fury. The Shipwrack was miserable, two Ships were staved in Pieces, and the Sea swallow'd up all the Men, Provisions and Ammunition. Of all the Soldiers and Seamen on Board the Vice-Admiral, only five swam ashore on the Coast of *China*. Some Soldiers were also sav'd out of the Admiral, and among them Captain *Ferdinand de los Rios*, the Vessel remaining foundered under the Waves. The other Ship got to *Camboxa* almost shatter'd to Pieces after many Dangers. She found in the River of *Camboxa*, eight Juncks of *Malayes*, and the Spaniards seeing they design'd to carry away some Slaves of the King of *Camboxa*, to whose Assistance they came, inconsiderately boarded the *Malayes*, who being well furnish'd with more than ordinary Fire-works, soon burnt our Ship, and most of the Spaniards perish'd in the Flames or Smoke. *Blaze Ruiz*, nor *Velloso* were not there at that Time, but soon after in the Country, where they were attending the King, being beset in the House where they lodg'd, were barbarously murder'd. Those few Spaniards that escap'd, got into the Kingdom of *Sian*, and thence to *Manila*. Heaven was pleas'd this should be the End of all those mighty Preparations made for the Recovery of *Ternate*, and the other *Molucco* Islands, whose Tyrant triumph'd at the News, concluding it was the Effect of his good Fortune, and looking on it as a Testimony of the Justice of his Cause, and accordingly he confederated a new with our Enemies.

D. Lewis de las Marinhas goes to relieve Camboxa.

Is cast away.

Spanish Ships burnt.

Don Francisco Tello, a Gentleman of *Andaluzia*, succeeded *Gomez Perez* in the Government of the *Philippine* Islands, and came to *Manila* in the Year 1596. His first Care was to inform himself of the Condition his Predecessor had left them in, and to supply the Garrisons; because the Emperor of *Japan*, having in the Year 1595, executed those glorious Martyrdoms, the Memory whereof is still fresh, on the Religious Men of the Order of *S. Francis*, it gave him Jealousy, that he might have a Design against the *Philippine* Islands.

D. Francisco Tello Governor of the Phil.

The Natives of the Islands of *Mindanao*, hate our Nation as much as those of *Ternate*, and upon any Occasion take Arms against it, as they did in the last, at the said Island of *Ternate*. For this Reason, *Stephen Rodriguez de Figueroa* enter'd into Articles with the new Governour, *Don Francisco Tello*, by Virtue whereof he made War on the People of *Mindanao* and *Ternate*, at his own Expence. *Stephen Rodriguez* was so rich, that he might safely undertake this Affair. He liv'd at *Arevalo*, a Town on the Island *Panaz*, one of the *Philippines*, and set out with some Gallies, Frigots, Champanes, and one Ship, in which there were some Spaniards, and above 1500 of the Painted Natives, call'd *Pintados*, who were to serve as Pioneers. He arriv'd at the River of *Mindanao*, on the 20th of April, 1596. and as soon as the Inhabitants of the Town, peculiarly call'd *Mindanao*, saw such a sightly Company, they fled up the Side of the

People of Mindanao hate the Spaniards. Stephen Rodriguez makes War on Mindanao, at his own Expence.

the River, abandoning the Place, to the Fury of the Soldiers. Most of them resorted to the Town of *Buyaben*, then the Residence of *Raxamura*, King of *Mindanao*, who being under Age, had yet no Charge of the Government, which was wholly in the Hands of *Silonga*, a Soldier, and Commander of Reputation. Our Men following up the River, came to *Tampacan*, five Leagues from the first. That Place was govern'd by *Dinuilibot*, Uncle to *Monao*, the true Proprietor, who was then also young.

The Natives fly, and be pursues.

These two were naturally well affected to the *Spaniards*, and therefore, as soon as they discover'd their Arms, came out, in peaceable Manner, to meet, and offer them their Assistance. They inform'd them, that the Enemies, for they were so to those of *Buyaben*, had retir'd into the Fort they had there. *Stephen Rodriguez* hearing the News, and having made much of those Princes, order'd the Fleet to weigh Anchor, and continue the Pursuit, four Leagues farther, still along the River, to *Buyaben*. Being come thither, he landed his Men on *S. Mark's Day*; which was done by the Col. *John de Xara*, but without any Order, because having had no Engagement at *Mindanao*, they thought they should have little to do there; as if this, or any other Pretence ought to be an Excuse for not observing Martial Discipline, *Stephen Rodriguez* would land to rectify that Disorder by his Presence. He went out in such Armour of Proof, that a Shot of a small Drake would scarce pierce it. Only his Head unarm'd, but cover'd with a Cap and Feather, a black carrying his Helmet, and five Soldiers well arm'd attending him. He had scarce march'd fifty Paces, before an *Indian*, whose Name was *Ubal*, suddenly rush'd out of a close and topping Thicket, and running at him, with his *Campilan*, or Cymiter, clove his Head. *Ubal* was Brother to *Silonga*, and Owner of one only Cow there was in all that Country. He kill'd her three Days before this Accident, and inviting his Friends to her, promis'd in that War to kill the most noted Man among the *Spaniards*. He was as good as his Word, for *Stephen Rodriguez* dropt down of the Wound, and dy'd three Days after, without answering one Word to the Questions that were made him, tho' he did it by Signs. The five *Spaniards*, seeing their Commander so suddenly wounded, that the Slayer, appeared, and the Stroke was heard the same Moment, fell upon *Ubal* and cut him in Pieces. They acquainted Colonel *Xara* with their General's Death; and he suppressing his Concern, drew back the Men, and threw up a Fortification in the most convenient Place, near the River, where he orderly founded his Colony, to be inhabited by our Men. He appointed Aldermen, and Magistrates, calling it *New Murcia*, in Honour of the old one in *Spain*, where he was born. Afterwards, designing to marry *Donna Ana de Ofegueria*, Widow to *Stephen Rodriguez*, he left Things unsettled, and arriv'd at the Island *Luzon* about the Beginning of *June*.

A Fort erected in Mindanao and call'd New Murcia.

Cap. Miranda sent to Mindanao.

The Governor *Don Francis Tello*, who was then at the Place call'd *El Embocadero*, an hundred Leagues from *Manila*, being inform'd of what had happen'd, and told upon what design the Colonel *Xara* came, seiz'd him immediately, sending Captain *Toribio de Miranda*, to the War in *Mindanao*. He found his Men were retir'd to the Port de la *Caldera*, in the same Island but 36 Leagues from the Mouth of the River. There he maintain'd himself, till about August *Don Francis Tello* appointed *Don John Ronquillo*, who was Commander of the Gallies, to succeed in that Post. He also

commission'd

commission'd *Peter Arceo Covarrubias*, and others, as Captains, to go with him; *James Chaves Cannizares*, Collonel; *Garcia Guerrero*, Major; and *Christopher Villagra* and *Cervan Gutierrez*, Captains of Foot. *Don John Ronquillo* came with his Recruit to press upon the Enemy, and did it so effectually, that being distress'd, they crav'd Aid of the King of *Ternate*, to whom the People of *Mindanao* pay an Acknowledgement, which is little less, *Ternates* or the same as Tribute. *Buizan*, Brother to *Silonga*, went on this Embassy; *Succour* and succeeded so well, that the King of *Ternate* sent with him seven Car- *Mindanao*:
coas, x heavy Pieces of Cannon, two smaller, some Falconets, and six hundred Men. They sailing up the River of *Mindanao*, design'd to pass on as far as *Buyaben*; but met with great Difficulties at the Reaches; because at one of them they were threatned by the *Spaniards* chief Fort, the Galleys, and other Vessels; and the other was a narrow Channel, with a Point running out into it, on which was erected a Bastion, defended by forty Men. From thence our Men had artificially laid a strong wooden Bridge over to the other Side of the River, close to which a Galliot ply'd up and down.

The *Ternates* seeing both Sides so well Guarded, resolv'd to fortify themselves at the Mouth of the River. They accordingly erected a small *They build* Fort, and put themselves into it, with an equal Number of *Mindanao* Sol- *a Fort on* diers. The News hereof mov'd the General *Ronquillo* to dislodge them; *the River*. and in Order to it, came down with the Galleys and other Vessels, and 140 Men well appointed. He landed with 116, and the Captains *Ruy Gomez Arellano*, *Garcia Guerrero*, *Christopher Villagra*, and *Alonso de Palma*, facing the Enemy, at about eighty Paces Distance, on the Bank of the River. The *Ternates* and *Mindanaos* had levell'd all the Front of their Fort, and designedly left a Spot of Bushes and Brambles on one Side, where 300 *Ternates* lay in Ambush, the rest being in the Fort. Both their Parties perceiving how few of our Men came to attack them, were atham'd to be shut up within Fortifications, and lye in Ambush, and accordingly making Show of haughty Threats, came out and met the *Spaniards*. They found such Opposition, that without the Help of any Stratagem, or other Cause but their natural Valour, at the very first onser, almost all the *Ternates* were kill'd, *Slaughter* and the rest fled. Our Men follow'd the Chace, till they made an End of *of Ternates*. them. The people of *Tampaca*, who till then had been Neuters, to see which Side Fortune would favour, perceiving she declar'd for us, took up Arms for our Part. Only seventy seven escap'd dangerously wounded, whereof fifty were drown'd in the River leaping, into it in Despair: Of the other twenty seven, only three surviv'd, who carry'd the News to their *Only three* King. The *Spaniards* possess'd themselves of the Shipping, Cannon, and *escape*. Plunder of the vanquish'd, and were encourag'd to prosecute the War.

Don Francis Tello did not neglect other Affairs of this Nature. He understood by his Spyes, and it was bruited abroad, that the Emperor of *Japan* Warlike was gathering a mighty Army, and fitted out a Fleet for it, with Arms *prepara-* and Provisions. It was also known, that he was in Treaty to secure him- *tions in* self against the *Chineses*, of whom the *Japoneses* are naturally Jealous. *Japan*. Hence it was inferr'd, that he arm'd to carry the War out of his own Dominions. He had already enter'd into Alliance with the King of *Ternate*, and other Neighbours, who were Enemies to the Crown of *Spain*. All

*A Spanish
Embassy
thither.*

these Particulars gave vehement Cause to conjecture, that the Storm threatened the *Philippine* Islands, and more especially *Manila*, the Head of them. The Governour strengthened himself, and sent Captain *Alderete* to discover the whole Truth, under Colour of complimenting that Emperour, and carrying him a Present. The Embassador set out for *Japan* in *July*, and at the same Time *Don Francisco* dispatch'd the Galeon *S. Philip* for *New Spain*, with Advice of those Reports. These two Ships, viz. that *Alderete* went in, and the *S. Philip*, were together in *Japan*, which the Natives were jealous of. *Alderete* got full Information of the Strength and Designs of the *Japoneses*, and his Industry was of Use, for the taking of right Measures in *Manila*, and to prevent their fearing without Cause. He brought back another noble Present to the Governour; and both Sides stood upon their Guard, to be ready upon all Occasions.

*Sovereign
Court at
Manila.*

In the Year 1598, the sovereign Court was again erected at *Manila*, King *Philip* prudently conferring Dignity on that Province. It was compos'd of the Judges *Zambrano*, *Mezcoa*, *Tellez de Almazan*, and the Kings Attorney *Ferome Salazar*, y *Salcedo*. That great King never allow'd of any Intermission in his weighty Cares, which extended to all the known Parts of the World; having a watchful Eye upon the Designs of other Princes, whether well, or ill affected to the Propagation of the Gospel, which was his main Design. Therefore, about this Time, he made Haste to rid himself of his neighbouring Enemies, that he might have Leisure to attend the remotest Rebels against the Church and his Monarchy. And in Respect that as Age came on, its Distempers grew heavier, he concluded a Peace with *France*, which was proclaim'd at *Madrid*, with Martial Solemnity, after he had withdrawn himself to the Monastery of *S. Laurence*, at the *Escorial*, a Work of his Piety and Magnificence, where he dy'd on the thirteenth of *September* 1598, with singular Tokens of Sanctity. He frequented the Sacrament of Confession, receiv'd the divine Viaticum, and extreme Unction, the last Remedy for temporal, and eternal Health. His Death was in all Respects answerable to the wonderful Course of his Life.

*Peace be-
tween
France &
Spain.*

*K. Philip
the 2d dies.*

*K. Philip
the 3d.*

King *Philip* the Third, our sovereign Lord, succeeded him, having been before sworn in all his Kingdoms, who, amidst the Tears and Funeral Solemnities, Commanded the Will to be open'd, and what his Father had order'd to be fulfill'd. His Instructions, and the Mysteries of State, whereof he was so great a Master, and which he communicated to his Son till the last Gasps, produc'd the Peace which attended his most happy Succession, which was his Due by Natural Right, the Law of Nations, and his own innate Virtues; the general Submission of his Subjects, and the Fidelity of the Armies that serv'd in the Northern Provinces in *Italy*, *Africk*, *Asia*, the *Indies*, and in Garrisons, were a Curb to other Nations. Many of them presented the new King with Protestations of Loyalty, before they had receiv'd Letters and Advice of his being upon the Throne. The same Unanimity was found in the Fleet, and Naval Power, wherein the Treasures and Commodities are transported; a rare Tranquility upon the Change of Princes. The *Roman* Legions in *Germany*, and *Illyricum*, did not show such Respect to *Tyberius*, after the Death of *Augustus*. And tho' the *Spanish* Monarchy is of so great an Extent, that it borders on the unknown World, and it is never Night in all Parts of it, because the

*Greatness
of the Spa-
nish Mo-
narchy.*

Sun

Sun encompasses and continually displays his Light over it, yet it obeys without any Commotion, or rather with Pride, as if it knew and were sensible of the new Hand that took up the Reins of Government: Excellent Princes have seldom fail'd to employ extraordinary Ministers about their Persons, to manage and sustain the Burden their Fortune lays upon their Shoulders; so *Alexander* the Great had *Hephestion*; the two *Scipios*, the two *Lelij*; *Augustus Caesar*, *Marcus Agrippa*; the Princes of the August House of *Austria*, other Persons of singular Virtue; for all moral Wisdom, and Experience it self teaches us, that the Difficulties of weighty Affairs are not to be duly manag'd, and surmounted, by any but Persons of a more than ordinary Capacity; because Nature has not left any of its Works destitute of a proportionable Ministry. And considering, that it is of great Importance to the publick Welfare, to contrive, that what is necessary for the Use and Commerce of Mankind may appear eminent in Dignity, for the strengthening of the common Advantage with Authority: The King, I say, following those ancient Examples, made Choice of *Don Francisco de Rojas y Sandoval*, then Marques of *Denia*, and since first Duke of *Lerma*, a most able Minister, privately to consult with him about fundamental Matters and Concerns, for which he had been prepar'd with singular Affection in those Times: Besides the great Antiquity of his Family, which has ally'd him to all the noblest of the *Grandeess* of *Spain*, all Men own him endow'd with the necessary Virtues, that belong to a Person in so great a Post; which shine through that pleasing Gravity of his Countenance, with a stay'd Gayity that testifies his Capacity, and provokes Respect at the same Time that it gains Affections. He constituted him the first of his Council of State, and all the Orders for Peace and War began to run through his Hands. All the Opinions of Councils, which he found seal'd, for King *Philip* the 2d to give his Decision thereupon, he restor'd, without opening them, to the Presidents of the said Councils they came from, being, perhaps, calculated out of Respect, that they might again debate upon them with more Liberty, and send them back enlarg'd or reform'd.

Duke of
Lerma
Prime Minister.

Heaven was now hastening the Reduction of the *Molucco* Islands, and the punishing the Persecution of the faithfull, tho the Tyrants appear'd never so haughty; however the Talk of it was discontinu'd for some Time; because the Enterprize was to be concerted, and carry'd on in the *Philippine* Islands, and to be resolv'd on, and encourag'd in the supreme Council of the *Indies*, and it was requisite that the President and Councillors should be well affected to the Cause, which had then no Body to support it, as being despair'd of by Reason of so many unfortunate Attempts: and therefore the Papers of Reflections, and Informations relating to it, lay by, forgotten, in Heaps. This was the Posture of those Affairs till Providence dispos'd the Means for bringing it about, that a Matter which was difficult on so many several Accounts, might fall into the Hands of a Sovereign, who being well affected, might with special Zeal bring it to Perfection.

Neglect of
the Moluccos in
Spain.

No Body now disturb'd the King of *Ternate*. The *English* settled on his Lands, and Trade enrich'd the Sovereign and the Subjects. He, tho' he had many Sons, and the Prince his Successor was of Age to bear Arms, did not cease equally to increase his Wives and Concubines. Lust was never circumscrib'd by any Laws among those People. The Relations of curious Persons inform us, That among the rest of this Kings Wives, there was

Queen of Ternate in Law, one very young, and singular for Beauty, with whom the Prince her Son-in-Law, whose Name was *Gariolano* fell in Love, and she rejected not his Love with Courtship tho' she was Wife to his Father: But that Nearness of the Kings Blood secur'd their Familiarity, and under the Shelter, and Cover of it, the Son. admitted both Father and Son.

Sangiack of Sabubu This Queen was Daughter to the *Sangiack* of *Sabubu*, a potent Prince in the great Island *Batochina*, who came to *Ternate*, upon some slight Occasion. He being lodged in the Palace, and entertain'd as a Father, and Father-in-Law, easily saw into the Incestuous Life of his Daughter. He resolv'd to be thoroughly convinc'd, yet concealing his Jealousy from both the Lovers, he

He Poisons her.

was satisfy'd of the Truth, learnt who were the Parties privy to it, abhorr'd the Baseness, and condemn'd his own Blood. He pretended one day he would Dine in private, and sent only for his Daughter; who being free from all Jealousy or Suspicion, swallow'd a Poison, which soon took away her Life, in that Food which she us'd most to delight in. Endeavours were us'd to help the unhappy Queen, and compose the Father; but he angrily obstructing that last act of Compassion, put away the Physicians, and Women, and being left alone with the King, who, upon hearing the News, was come to give his Assistance, said, *This Woman, whom Nature gave to me for a Daughter, and I to you for a Wife, has, with her Life, satisfy'd a Debt she had contracted by her inordinate Passions. Do not Lament her, or believe she dy'd of any Natural Distemper. I kill'd her, taking the Revenge off your Hands. The Prince, your Son, had a Love Intrigue with her? Being in your House I had full Proof of it, and not being able to endure, that my Blood should wrong you, I could lay aside all Fatherly Affection, and take away the Stain that on my Side is laid upon the Law of Nature, and your Honour. I have honourably finish'd the first Part of this Example. Now, if you think your self wrong'd by your Son, he is in your Power, and I have no Right to deliver him up to you, as I do this false Body. It lies upon you to finish this Work upon the Offender, for I have perform'd all that was my Duty in giving you this Information, and depriving my self of the Daughter I lov'd best.*

The Prince Flies.

Is Restor'd to Favour.

The King was astonish'd, without knowing how to return Thanks, or perform any other Act becoming a King; and having lamented the Misfortune for some time, order'd Prince *Gariolano* to be secur'd; but he, who was no less belov'd by the Guards than his Father, Guessing at the Consequences, which might certainly be deduc'd from the Queens violent Death, sparing no Horse-flesh, made to the Sea-Port, where he withdrew, with some of his Relations, from his Fathers Presence and Anger, till it naturally cool'd. It happen'd as he expected, for he was appeased before a Year expir'd, and the Prince was restor'd to his Favour; the King then making a Jest of the Stains of his Honour, and saying, *He well knew his ill Luck in Wives and Concubines.* But what Laws does he observe, who is guided by his Appetite? And how can he weigh the Duties of Honour, who Thinks that only the common Actions of the Sense have any solid being?

The End of the Sixth Book.

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. VII.

THE Governour *Don Francis Tello*, to attend other Neighbouring Provinces, where greater Commotions were threatned, turn'd his Arms that Way; sending some inconsiderable Part, at several Times to the *Moluccos*; for he never went seriously about recovering those Islands, either because he apprehended, or had Intelligence of Dangers threatned by the haughty *Japoneses*, *Mindanaos* and *Chincses*, or that he would not tread in the Track of those who ruin'd themselves in the Expeditions against *Ternate*. Yet our Men fought that Nation in other Parts; for being the most Warlike, and averse to the very Name of *Spaniards*, it never let pass any Opportunity of doing them Harm.

D. Francis Tello neglects the Moluccos.

We have already mention'd the first coming of the *English* into those Seas, and the Care that was taken to obliterate the Example set by their Voyage, by fortifying the Streights of *Magellan*. It could not be effected, nor did our Fleet succeed in punishing, as was intended, those who had the Boldness to attempt that unthought-of Passage. Since then, the *Hollanders* and *Zealanders*, supported by Rebellion and Disobedience, have sail'd into *India*, possess'd themselves of strong Holds, and erected Factories, transporting the Drugs, Precious Stones and Silks of *Asia*; and what is worse, possessing themselves of several Places, and rending the *Spanish* Monarchy. They have made several Voyages. What Island have they not pry'd into? What Barbarous Nation have they not encourag'd to Rebellion and Tyranny?

Dutch at the Moluccos.

Tyranny; especially since *Maurice of Nassau* is possess'd of those Provinces, by the Title of Governour.

Philip-
pines fill'd
with Chi-
neſes.

The *Philippine* Islands were now appointed for the Place of Arms, considering the great Delays Experience had shown there were towards Recovering of the *Molucco* Islands. In the mean while, notwithstanding that *Don Francis Tello* was warn'd, how pernicious Inhabitants he was like to have in the *Sangleys*, or *Chineſes*, by whom the Islands of his Province began to be much peopled and fill'd, yet he allow'd them greater Liberty than was convenient; and the Municipal Laws which provided against this Disorder being forgotten or contemn'd, in a very short Time there were additional Towns of *Chineſes*, *Chincheos*, and other such like Monsters, who were no better than Pyrates, or Incendiaries in that Country, which ought to have taken sufficient Warning by, and been well provided on Account of past Accidents, to shut up all Passages against such Enemy Nations. *Don Francisco* excus'd their Resort, alledging, That they imported Abundance of Provisions and Merchandise, which is what usually enriches all Places; That no Men have such a consummate Mechanick Genius as they; That they are more assiduous and constant at the Works and Buildings than the Natives of the *Philippines*. He said, That all the Jealousy generally conceiv'd of them vanishes, if the Governour administers Justice impartially, and permits no private Cabals. All these are, or appear'd to be frivolous Reasons, without any Force; and the admitting of such an Inundation of those People, prov'd very dangerous, as may be seen in the Sequel of this Work, by what happen'd to the Governour *Gomez Perez*. It was a particular Providence of Heaven, that other Nations did not go about to League with this, or the *Dutch*, who have so strongly fix'd themselves in the *Archipelago*; for they might, without much Difficulty, have given us more Trouble than has been occasion'd by the Rebellion of the Kings of the *Moluccos*; to whose Country, and all others in *India*, great Fleets of *Dutch* resort, ever since the Year 1585, whereof *Dutch* Writers give an Account, and lay down in Cuts, even the smallest Plants they produce.

Account of
Holland.

It does not belong to us to give an Account of the *English*, *Dutch*, or other Nations of *India* and *Asia*, or their Expeditions and Voyages; but only such as relate to the Conquest of *Ternate* and the *Molucco* Islands, or may have some Dependence on this Subject; but be it known, once for all, that every Year, some Northern Fleets appear'd, coming either thro' *New Streights*, still unknown to our Discoverers, or those before frequented and laid down. But before we enter upon this Relation, it seems requisite to say something of *Holland*, the Head of the Neighbouring Islands, as that which is become most outrageous in *India*, and most covets the *Moluccos*. The Province of *Holland* is almost on all Sides encompass'd by the Sea, and the Ports of the *Maese* and *Rhine*, for about 60 Leagues in Compass. Within it are contain'd 29 wall'd Towns, whose Names and Situation does not belong to us to speak of, nor of those of *Zealand*, or the other Provinces subject to them. The Curious may read *Lambert*, *Hogenius*, and *Montefortius*. The Natives are descended from the Ancient *Catti*; and forasmuch as *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam*, which is in *Holland*, describes it in his *Chiliades*, we will abridge what he there delivers at large,

large, out of Affection to his Country. The Learned, say he, agree, and it is a probable Conjecture, that the Island *Tacitus* mentions, lying from *Tacitus* the *Rhine* to the Ocean, is that we call *Holland*; which I am oblig'd to l. 20. Honour, as owing my first Breath to it; and would to God we could honour it as it deserves. *Martial* charges it with being rude, or unpolished; and *Lucan* with Cruelty. Either these Things do not belong to us, but to our Ancestors, or we may value our selves upon them both. What Nation is now known, whose first Fathers were not more uncouth than their Posterity? Or when was *Rome* more highly commended, than when its People knew no other Arts but Tillage and Warfare? *Erasmus* spends Time in proving, that it is the Nature of *Holland*, not to relish *Martial's* Wit; and that this is not the Effect of Rudeness, but a Gravity worthy Imitation. Then he makes an Exclamation, saying, Would to God all Christians had *Dutch* Ears! And that if still any one shall contend, the Nation is in the Wrong, in having stopp'd theirs to all Poetical Delights and Allurements, and arm'd it self against them; the *Dutch* valu'd themselves upon being comprehended in that Reflection, which did not displease the Ancient *Sabines*, the Perfect *Lacedemonians*, and the Severe *Catos*. *Lucan* call'd the *Batavi*, that is the *Dutch*, Cruel, as *Virgil* did the *Romans*, Vehement. *Erasmus* adds, That the Customs of these Na- Erasmus tions are Familiar, inclining to Meekness and Benignity, and not to Fierce- of the ness; because Nature endow'd them with a sincere Disposition, free from Manners Fraud and Double-Dealing, and did not make them subject to extraordinary of Hollan- Vices, except the Love of Pleasure, and Excess in Entertainments. This ders. is caus'd by the Multitude of Beauties, which are Incentives, by the several Sea-Ports on the Ocean, the Mouths of the two Rivers, *Rhine* and *Maese*; the perpetual Felicity of the Soil, water'd by other Navigable Rivers; and the Fish and Fowl in the Ponds and Woods. No Province of so small a Compass, contains so many Cities of a considerable Magnitude, and so Populous, excellently govern'd; so full of Commodities, Arts and Trade. It abounds in Men indifferently learn'd. *Erasmus* himself, in Conclusion, owns that none of them arrives to singular Erudition. This Account, which in all that is natural must be own'd not to exceed, affords Arguments to condemn and convince the Author of it, and the Nation it self. All that Part of the World where Religion and Politeness flourish, is acquainted with the Diversity of Opinions all those Nations espouse, of *Protestants*, *Puritans*, *Calvinists*, these the most Numerous; *Huguenots*, *Lutherans*, and all other Sorts, too long to enumerate, and not to our Purpose. Since *Erasmus* confesses that his Country does not produce any Persons of eminent Learning, why do they take upon them to decide Controversies in Religion? Why do they inroach upon Councils? If they are of such an excellent Disposition, and have such a modest Genius, Why do they cast off that Piety, whereof there are such ancient Testimonies in our first Fathers, so much honour'd by the primitive Charity of the true Church? It is true, as *Erasmus* says, that they are of a kind Temper, but Tenacious of whatsoever they once espouse; the same moves us to pity them the more, for the Difficulty of dealing with Positiveness in Minds that are not given to change. Let no Man believe but that under that seeming Meekness in Behaviour, the highest Degree of Pride lies couch'd.

The Authors Reflections on them.

A Spanish
Author
cannot for-
bear these
Reflections.

couch'd. What greater Pride than to scoff at the most ancient Church ? At its Apostolical Traditions ? At her universal Agreement ? At the Miracles God has wrought, to approve the Catholick Doctrine ? And what Error can be more inexcusable, than to follow the New Opinions of unlearned and vicious Men, such as the Arch-Heretics were ; and to live under a Necessity of not laying down their seditious Arms only to defend Impiety grounded on Ignorance, and the Extravagancies of their Passions ? What House is there in those Cities which *Erasmus* extols, wherein all the Inhabitants profess and follow the same Way of spiritual Salvation ? When the Father is a *Calvinist*, the Mother is often a *Huguenot*, the Son a *Lutheran*, the Servant a *Hussite*, and the Daughter a *Protestant*. All the Family is divided, or rather every particular Person's Soul is so, and at best doubts of all. Wherein does this differ from Atheism ? It is positive Atheism. This Division, unworthy of wild Beasts, is the Occasion, and a Sort of Mathematical Necessity, that these People cannot be united among themselves in true Peace. For those Things are the same to one another, that they are to a Third ; so that almost all these having different Notions, as to God, they cannot of Necessity be united among themselves, as differing in the most essential Part, which is the having an uniform Notion of God in Religion. Let no Man believe, that because they are not at War among themselves, it is Love that is the Occasion of it. The Ground of their false Tranquility is to be call'd a Cessation, and not Peace. These are the People who have unhing'd Loyalty and the Christian Religion, before settled in the Islands, and remotest Parts of *Africa*, making Excursions from their own Country, as far as *China*, their raging Avarice being grounded on the Advice given them by the Queen of *England*, and on Malice, because King *Philip* the 11th had shut up the other Ports of his Kingdoms against them ; so to endeavour to reduce them to the Truth and Submission, by taking from them the Advantages of Trade.

See the
latter part
of the Pre-
face.

Dutch first
sail to the
Moluccos.

The first *Dutch* Fleet that came to the *Molucco* Islands, after the *English*, in the Year 1598, shall be here spoken of. Some prime Men, for the Sake of their Country, as they said, and to gain Reputation, met in *Holland* and *Zealand*, and fitted out six Ships and two Brigantines, to sail into *India*. The first Ship they call'd the *Maurice*, the Admiral in her being *Jacob Cornelius Neck*, born at *Roterdam*, and the Master *Gonaert Jansk* ; the second was the *Amsterdam*, and in her the Vice-Admiral *Vibrant Darrick* ; the other Ships were the *Holland*, the *Zealand*, the *Guelder*, and the *Utrecht* ; The bigger Brigantine the *Friezland*, and the smaller the *Overijssel*. They carry'd 160 Soldiers, besides Mariners, and sail'd from *Roterdam* on the 13th of *March*. Off from *Sluys*, on the 4th of *April*, they had such a dreadful Storm, as might have discourag'd them from Proceeding, and the Ship the *Holland* was almost disabled ; but still they were drove on by the Weather to the *Texel*, and thence to *Debenter*, and in Conclusion they got into the Ocean. They met another Ship returning to the *Low Countries*, which presented them with 10000 Oranges, and having distributed them among the Men, they made a general Rejoycing, for the baptizing of 25 Men, aboard the Ship the *Guelder*, on the 10th of *May*. On the 11th they anchor'd at *Barrels*, and on the 15th at the Island *Aladera*,

25 Dutch
baptized.

Barrels
must be a
Mistake.

Madera, and again on the 17th at the *Canaries*, *Gomera*, and *Palma*, passing by those of *Sal* and *Santiago*, which are those of *Cabo Verde*, they furld all their Sails, and drove in a Storm, in 29 Degrees Latitude. On the first of *June* they took a Sea Tortoise which weigh'd 143 Pounds. On the 15th of the same Month, *Gerrit Jans*, either provok'd by Wine or a worse Spirit, cast himself into the Sea, from the highest Part of the greater Brigantine. The next Day, aboard the Ship *Guelder*, in which the new baptised Men were, they saw a large flying-Fish, which clapping too its Wings, fell into the said Ship; but they saw the same Sort of Fishes fall upon their Vessels at other Times. On the Eighth they cross'd the Line, and began to distribute a Pot of Wine to every six Men; but on the 25th of the same Month, for Joy of having pass'd the Ridges of Rocks before *Brazil*, which run to the Southward in 18 Degrees of South Latitude, they allow'd three Pots to every seven Men. Such a thick Fog fell that they lost Sight of the smaller Brigantine; the *Zealand* soon found her again, and discover'd many Cranes standing on the Tops of the Reeds, or Canes, that grew out Tall and of an equal Height above the Water. On the 24th of *July*, they came to an Anchor at the Cape of *Good Hope*, whence they sail'd again on the 15th of *August* with Stormy Weather, all the eight Vessels together, the Sea there boiling up as a Pot does upon the Fire. This Motion, like boiling, was seen for about a Musket Shot in Length, and the Breadth of a Ship, and all this Space was cover'd thick with Weeds, which they pass'd over by main Force, without any Danger.

The Sea seems to boil up.

On the 24th they reach'd the Island of *Madagascar*, or of *S. Laurence*, and saw abundance of Whales. Here the plentiful Distribution of Wine ceas'd, and it began to be given out more sparingly, to lament by this Abstinence, the Death of *John Pomer*, a skilful Sailor. On the 27th they pass'd Cape *S. Sebastian*, and on the 30th Cape *S. Julian*. On the 4th of *September*, it was debated whether they should make for the Island of *Banda*, or put into the Bay of *Anton Gill*. They came to no Resolution at that Time, tho' they afterwards arriv'd separately at *Banda*, and at several Times. On the 17th they discover'd, at a great Distance, the Island of *Cerne*, by others call'd the *Isle of Swans*, which is high and mountainous, and for Joy of the Water they expected to take in there, they gave every Man three Cups of Wine. Before that, the Vice-Admiral went ashore with five Men, in another little Island, and taking a View of it, found a Noble Spacious Harbour, well land-lock'd, into which a Rivulet of fresh Water fell. They put in and refitted their shatter'd Vessels, finding 14 Fathom Water. They had not Landed in four Months, and therefore in Thanksgiving, and because it was then Fair Time in *Holland*, they made a Sort of Chappel, on the Bodies of Trees, and covering it with Leaves, preach'd there twice a Day, in Honour of the Fair. They eat Abundance of Fowl, which they could almost take with their Hands, and drank Wine more plentifully. A Native of *Madagascar*, who came along with them, and had been taken in a former Voyage, was, by the Instruction of those Sermons, made a Christian, and baptiz'd, taking the Name of *Laurence*. They found no Inhabitants in the Island though it was Delightful.

Madagascar.

They land in a small Island.

On the 28th and 29th, they observ'd they were upon a very Christalline Water, without any other Tokens of their being near Land, and those same Days at Noon, they had the Sun in the *Zenith*, directly over their Heads, which had happen'd to them at other Times. Here a Storm separated the Ships; the *Maurice*, which was Admiral, by them in *Latin* call'd *Pratoria*, the *Holland* and the *Overissel*, tho' they endeavour'd to make *Java*, were drove by Strefs of Weather to *Banda*; and the other five to the Island *Cerne*, or of *Swans*, leaving six other smaller on the Right Hand. They enter'd the Port with ten Fathom Water, between two Mountains, which contract the Mouth of it. The Situation of it is in 21 Degrees of South Latitude, and is five Leagues in Compass. The Port is Spacious enough to contain 50 Ships, and shelter'd against all Winds. They were so well pleas'd with the Island, that they chang'd its ancient Name of *Cerne*, or of *Swans*, for that of *Maurice*, in Honour of Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, Bastard Son to the Prince of *Orange*, so well known in our Days. Discoverers were sent about it, and return'd without finding any humane Track, nor Signs of any Habitation. They had a doubtful Proof hereof in the Birds and Beasts; for they ran into their Hands and alighted on their Heads, as they might have done on the Branches of Trees, or had they been bred Tame; which Boldness proceeded either from their having never seen Men, or being grown very familiar with them.

Among the rest, there are Bats, which have Heads as big, and like Apes, and these sleep considerable Numbers of them together, and hanging on the Trees, with their Legs and Wings extended. The Air and Soil are so healthy and fit to be inhabited, that as soon as the Sick were landed, they recovered. The Land is high and mountainous, full of Woods, and not being inhabited, there are no Tracts or Paths through them. There is an infinite Quantity of Ebony Trees, as black as Pitch, and as smooth as Ivory; the Trunks being cover'd with a rough Bark, preserve the Body solid. There are other Plants, whose Trunks are Red, and others Pale as Wax; delicious Coco-Nuts, vast Numbers of Palm-Trees, and some of them of such Sort, that one of their Leaves covers all a Man's Body, and defends it against the Rain. They spread their Nets, and among the other Multitude of Fishes, took a Thornback so large, that it afforded two Meals for all the Men in the Ships. They saw Land Tortoises, so big, that one of them walk'd with four Soldiers sitting on its Back; and ten of them din'd upon the Shell of another, as if it had been a round Table. In a very short Time they kill'd Abundance of Turtle-Doves, and another Sort of white Birds, bigger than our Swans, but as round as a Ball, and have only two or three curl'd Feathers in the Tail. There were so many blew Parrots, that they might have loaded their Ships with them. *Indian* Crows, twice as big as the *European*, of three several colour'd Feathers.

They erected Forges, dress'd all their Tools, and built another Vessel, to supply the Place of the *Urecht*, which with the other two, had directed her Course for *Madagascar*. They again took a View of their *Maurice* Island, and towards the Inland Part of it, tho' there were no Signs of any humane Habitation, found about three hundred Pounds weight of Wax, on which there were plain Greek Letters and Characters. They also saw Oars, Nets, and Pieces of Timber, being the Wreck of Ships. The Vice-Admiral, providing

providing a smooth square Board, carv'd on it the Arms of *Holland, Zealand, and Amsterdam*, and nail'd it on the Top of a Tree, as a Memorial of his being there, and giving the Name of *MAURICE* to the island, with this Inscription, which being in *Spanish*, denotes their Hatred to the Ancient Faith of our Nation, and being couch'd in one Line over their Arms, was, *THE REFORM'D CHRISTIANS*. Then they plow'd up a large Field, and sow'd it with Wheat, and other *European Grain*; turning loose some Hens, to see what Improvement they should find another Time. They again, for some Days, visited the Hills and Plains, and found no Track of Man.

Whilst these refresh'd themselves at the Island *Cerne*, or of *Swans*, being fourteen Days, the other three Ships arriv'd at *S. Mary's*, a barren Island, *S. Mary's Island.* tho' some Orange and Lemon Trees grow in it, as also Sugar Canes, and there are Hens. About it, and in Sight of Land, there are monstrous Whales. They landed, but not without Opposition from the Natives, with whom they fought, and took their King; but he was easily ransom'd, a Cow and a Calf being given them in Exchange for him. They saw the Manner of the Whale Fishery, which is very easy there. The *Indians* make up close to them in their Canoes, and stick them with a Harping-Iron they dart, being ty'd to Ropes made of the Barks of Trees. They stor'd their Ship with their Flesh and Oil, and some Oranges, and went over to the Bay of *Anton Gil*, where the *Madagascar Indian*, would not stay, as he had desired before, being now well affected to the Habit and Drunkenness of his Companions. They were toss'd backwards and forwards for five Days, between certain Islands, destitute of Provisions, and unsafe, by Reason they were in War among themselves. *Strange Ransom for a King.*

They set forward with a fair Gale towards *Java*, and on the 26th of *December, 1598*, arriv'd at *Banda*, which is eight Leagues from *Amboina*. *Banda Island.* This Island is shap'd like a Horse-shoe, and lies in four Degrees of South Latitude. It is most fruitful, with little or no Improvement, in Nutmegs, and their precious Mace; as also Provisions and Medicines for Men, beyond all other Parts of the known World. It is divided into three Parts, each of them three Leagues in Compass. The Capital City is called *Nera*. As soon as they arriv'd, they contracted Friendship with the Islanders; tho' a foreign Ship, to secure the Trade to herself, gave them to understand, that the *Dutch* were certain Pirates who fled the Year before, and had lain conceal'd at Sea, to come again and rob the Island, and therefore they did not fully credit them. This Notion was back'd by *Trading Portugueses*, and others settled there; but the *Dutch* sending their *Abdol*, that is the *Indian* Interpreter, with some Soldiers, and Gifts to present the King, according to the Custom of Merchants that come into his Country, they before him clear'd that Imputation, and defended their Innocence. The King was an Infant, and govern'd by his *Cephates*, that is his Vice-Roy, Tutor, or Protector, who set all right. They gave the King the Present before him, which he receiv'd very graciously. It consisted of certain valuable gilt Vessels, admirably engrav'd, Christal Glasses, Looking-Glasses in gilt Frames, and Pieces of Velvet and Taffery. They deliver'd him Letters and Commissions of the States of *Holland, Zealand,* *The Dutch settle Trade there.* and

All their
Ships meet
again.

and Count *Maurice*, with their Seals hanging to them in Form. All was accepted, and they lay down flat on the Ground to receive and read the Letters, with profound Reverence. The King promis'd to answer them, as he did, and immediately gave leave to Trade; whereupon the *Dutch* built Factories in the Island. They then expos'd in publick Shops great Store of Arms, Silks, Linnen and Cloth; as did the Natives their Spice, *China* Ware, and Pearls, and other Commodities the Neighbouring Islanders and *Chineses* bring hither to barter, and sell to one another. Five Weeks after, the other three Ships arriv'd, and the People of the City hearing the Discharges of the Cannon, and seeing the Auncients spread abroad, for Joy of the Ships meeting again, came down to the Port, and encompass'd the Ships in Boats, offering them Plenty of Fowl, Eggs, Co-co Nuts, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, and Cakes made of Rice-Flower. This dainty Feeding continu'd every Day, and they gave them a Weeks Provision for a *Dutch* Man for one Pewter Spoon. However they rais'd the Price of Pepper; but they pay'd for all with Pins and Needles, Knives, Spoons, Looking-Glasses, and little Tabors; and with those same Commodities, they purchas'd more valuable Goods at *Sumatra*, as also Provisions; when four of these eight Ships return'd Homewards, the others sailing for *Ternate* and the *Moluccos*.

The Nut-
meg Tree.

The greatest Quantity, and best Commodity they took in here, was of Mace. Nutmegs grow also in *Ternate* and the adjacent Islands, but they are few and weak; but in *Banda* there is a plentiful Crop, and they have much more Virtue. Nature has cloath'd its Mountains and Plains, with Woods and Groves of these Plants. They are like the *European* Pear-Trees, and their Fruit resembles Pairs, or rather in Roundness the *Melocotones*. When the Nutmegs blofom, they spread a cordial Fragrancy; by degrees they lose their Native Green, which is original in all Vegetables; and then succeeds a Blew, intermix'd with Grey, Cherry-Colour, and a pale Gold Colour, as we see in the Rainbow, tho' not in that regular Division, but in Spots like the *Jaspar* Stone. Infinite Numbers of Parrots, and other Birds of various Plumage, most delightful to behold, come to sit upon the Branches, attracted by the sweet Odour. The Nuts, when dry, cast off the Shell it grows cover'd with, and is the Mace, within which is a white Kernel, not so sharp in Taste as the Nut, and when dry is converted into its Substance. Of this Mace, which is hot and dry in the second Degree, and within the third, the *Bandeses* make a most precious Oil to cure all Distempers in the Nerves, and Aches caus'd by cold. Of these Nuts they choose the freshest, weightiest, fattest, juiciest, and without any Hole. With them they cure, or correct stinking Breath, clear the Eyes, comfort the Stomach, Liver, and Spleen, and digest Meat. They are a Remedy against many other Distempers, and serve to add outward Lustre to the Face. The *Bandeses* call the Mace of their Aromatick Nuts, *Buna Pala*. It was not known to the *Greeks* nor to *Pliny*, according to *Averrois*; tho' *Serapion*, whether the true, or the suppositious, when he describes it, alledges *Gallen's* Authority. It is true the *Chrisabolans* he treated of, agree well enough with the Nutmegs in Colour and Shape.

Oil of
Nutmeg.

Virtues of
Nutmeg.

The

The *Javanefes*, *Chinefes*, and Natives of the *Moluccos* resort to the City *Mera*, to barter for this precious Fruit, and load their Ships with it; and this is the Trade of that People, as is that of Clove to *Ternate*, *Tydore*, and the other *Moluccos*. The Merchants arriving in this Island, many of them contribute to make up a Sum, wherewith they purchase a Woman, to dress their Meat, and attend them. The *Dutch* did so from this first Time. When they go away she is left free, till they return the next Year; so that her Slavery commences with the Return of her Masters, and their Absence gives it an Intermiffion. Some of the Natives are Idolaters; but the greater Part *Mahometans*, and so superstitious, that the very Soldiers do not mount the Guard, till they have pray'd in the Mosques, so loud, that all the Neighbourhood can hear them. Nor must any Man go into them without washing his Feet, in great Vessels of Water, provided at the Door, by the publick. Their Prayers consist in these Words, *Eftagfer Al'lah*, *Eftagfer Al'lah*, *Afgiv'd Al'lah*, *Afgiv'd Al'lah*, *La Il'lah In'la Al'lah*, *Mu.amed reful Al'lahi*. When they utter these last Words, they stroke their Faces with their Hands, a Ceremony denoting much Devotion. The Words in *English* are, Pardon O God, Pardon O God. I prostrate my self to God. I prostrate my self to God. There is no other God but God, and *Mahomet* his Messenger: By these Words, There is no other God but God, they deny the ineffable Mystery of the most blessed Trinity. Then they proceed to several Blasphemies. They say other Prayers, at which they scarce move their Lips; when they do this they stand three and three upon a Mat, lifting up their Eyes to Heaven three Times, and bowing down their Heads to the Ground. The *Dutch* Author, who gives this Account, does not mention any other Religion in this Island, nor in any of the others their Fleets touch'd at; tho' it is so well known, that the Catholick Faith of our Lord *Jesus Christ* has been preach'd many Years before, throughout them all, with the Glory of Martyrdom; but those People conceal it, to what Intent is well known.

Merchants
way of li-
ving at
Banda.

Religion of
Banda.

The *Banaefes* assemble in the Streets, and publick Places, where they feast themselves. It is frequent among them to eat in the Temples and Woods, an hundred in a Parcel; especially when they consult together about the publick Weal, or any Danger. There are seven Cities in the Island, which are Enemies to one another. *Nera* is averse to the *Lambethans*, *Combers* and *Veierans*, and maintains Friendship with the Inhabitants of *Lontoor*, which is on the other Side of the Island, and those of two other little Cities call'd *Poleruija* and *Poelway*. When they are to fight, they always repair first to *Nera*, to concert Affairs. *Banda* provides their Entertainments on the Ground, in the Streets. The Dishes are made of the Trunks and Leaves of *Bananas*, and other Plants. Every one has a Piece of *Sagu* brought him on them, and a Plate of Rice boil'd in the Broth of Flesh. This they devour, carrying it to their Mouths with both Hands, and eat it with such a Relish, as if they had *Jove's* Brains dress'd set before them; so the *Dutch* Relation of *Palucanus* and *Hugo* expresses it. Whilst the Meat lasts, till the Multitude are satisfy'd, the Nobles by two and two, take up their Cymiters and Shields, and fight to the sound of Bells, and the Clattering of their Basons. When weary of this Exercise, they deliver the Weapons to others, which continue it. The Cause of their Wars,

Feasting in
Banda.

Enmity a-
mong these
Cities.

is

is for that the Inhabitants of *Labetaca*, many Years since, set some Plants in the Territory of *Nera*. The People of this City affronted at this Presumption, made the first War upon them; which is as bloodily prosecuted, as if their Religion, or Honour, depended on it. They attack one another by Day and Night in their Territories, and by Sea in their *Carcoas*.

Banda Tar.

In these they do not, like us, fill up the Seams of the Boards with Pitch and Tar, but with Shells of *Indian Nuts*, which they call *Clappos*. They pound those Shells and Rhinds, till they become like a Bitumen, or Mals, wherein there remain certain Threads, which resemble Hemp. with this they knit their Seams, and fill up the Crannies and cover them in such Sort that it resists the Force of the Water. They carry two, and sometimes four Pieces of Cannon. The Men use small Fire-locks, Bucklers, and

Their Weapons.

large Cymiters, which they call *Padang*, and Lances of a more solid Wood than our Box. They exercise all these Weapons from their Child-hood, as they do in casting a sort of Hooks with sharp Points and Edges, which they dart at the Enemies Bodies, and then draw back the Lines they are made fast to. Their Heads they arm with Helmets; and on their Crests wear Birds of Paradise, both for Ornament, and a superstitious Defence. They have Breast and Back Pieces, and call'd them as we did Corselets. When they are to fight at Sea, as soon as the War-like Instruments begin to sound, the

Oars like Shovels.

Soldiers fall a leaping, and skipping on the Benches, which run round the *Carcoas* from Stem to Stern. The Slaves ply the Oars, which are like wooden Shovels, make the Vessel fly by main Force, and serve to lade out the Water, when there is Occasion. They are so revengeful, that having been in those Days vanquish'd on Land by the *Labetans*, many of them being kill'd and wounded, those of *Nera* assembled the next Day in five *Carcoas*, and attacking the little Island *Bayjer*, the Natives whereof had assisted the *Labetans* they slew all they found, without sparing any but a few Women, whom they carry'd Captives to *Nera*, with the Heads of their Enemies before them on Spears; and for four Days, to the Amazement of Foreigners, and particularly the *Dutch*, they show'd their Cymiters embrew'd in Gore, about the Streets. Nay, a Soldier among them, in the Sight of

Cruelty of Bandeles.

Abundance, took a Fancy to try his Cymiter, he carry'd naked, and with it clove down one of the Captive Women, from the Shoulder to the Breast. They shew'd themselves Merciful in burying those Heads, assembling together in the House of the *Shahander*, that is the Governor, in the Presence of all the People, which uses to meet to see such Spectacles, every Soldier, as a Testimony of his Valour, laid all the Heads he had cut off on a very large Stone, under a Tree: They wrapp'd them up in Cotton Cloths, and carrying them in Dishes bury'd them in a Grove, with much Smoke of Frankincense, whereof they have great Plenty. Had those dead Persons been Natives, their Kindred and Friends would have come immediately to lament with loud Cries, as they use to do, over their Graves, which they dig like us, wrap up the Bodies in Shrouds of white Cotton, and carry them to be bury'd on their Shoulders. They are great Observers, that the Funerals of Men should go before those of Women; place Lamps over the Graves of all, and by their Light pray for them. They cry out furiously, calling the Dead, as if they hop'd they should come to Life at their Call; and perceiving they do not rise again, the Kindred and Friends meet about

Burial of Enemies Heads.

Their Funerals.

the

the most splendid Entertainment they are able to provide. Being ask'd by the *Dutch*, what it was they ask'd of God in the Prayers they mutter'd over the Graves, they answer'd. *We pray that the Dead may not rise again.* So that the Want of the true Light of Faith, does not hinder them from seeing, how much Mankind suffers from the first Moment of his Life, till the last; but it is rather to be concluded, that they look upon it as a Misfortune to have been born. They were much amaz'd to hear, that the *Dutch* did not use the same Ceremony towards their dead.

They play at Foot-Ball, which is made of *Spanish* Reeds. They that Play make a Ring one standing in the Center, who tosses the Ball to those about him, and they with a Kick throw it so high that it is almost out of Sight. If any one misses it, they hiss, and hoot, to shame him for his Unskilfulness. Men live in this Island longer than in any other Parts of the World. The *Dutch* saw several, who exceed 130 Years of Age. They live upon the Product of their Country; and tho' there is continual War, yet the greater Number lives Idle; and it is very remarkable that those People, who are so much addicted to Sloath, should be such Enemies to Quietness. A useless Life does not deserve much Age; and that which is dedicated to Idleness seldom attains to it. The Women Plow and Till the Land, and follow other manly Professions. They seldom go abroad with Men; they have all the Charge of Household Affairs, and their greatest Employment within Doors, is usually uncasing and drying of Nutmegs.

Foot-Ball.

Life long in Banda.

Women Till the Land.

The *Dutch* having loaded with Spice, Purcelane, and some Rubies, and settled Factories, and Amity, sail'd from *Banda*, on the 14th of *July*, with great firing of Cannon. They stood towards the Island *Noefelau*, the Natives whereof are *Anthropophagi*, so the *Greeks* call Man-Eaters. They proceeded towards that of *Amboyna*, whose Western Point they discover'd, yet did not touch at it then, but went on to the greater *Java*, notwithstanding their Admiral was at *Amboyna*. They arriv'd at *Java* and the City *Tuban*, sent two Boats thither to Discover, and know whither they might be allow'd to take in Provisions. Those who return'd with the Answer, brought along with them a *Portuguese*, who, at the Perswasion of the Natives, had renounc'd the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, as was known, and call'd among them by the name of the *Renegado*, as a proper Appellative, and not dishonourable. This Man inform'd the Admiral, That if he would stay there three or four Months, he might enrich his Ships to his Hearts Content. They sent by him to ask the King's Leave, with some Presents of Copper, Glafs, and Silk. The next day Merchants came down to the Harbour, with Abundance of Commodities; and from the King, in Return for their insignificant Present, they brought the *Dutch* 19 great Sacks of Rice. The Trade being settled, they went up to the City, where they saw several Horsemen, well Arm'd, Horses well Accouter'd, on which they value themselves very much, Shops well stor'd, and a free Trade for all Nations. The Vice-Admiral went to kiss the King's Hand, who receiv'd him Graciously; promis'd to go Aboard the Ships in Person, and perform'd it, having first order'd them to be shew'd all his Royal Apartments, even to his Womens private Lodgings; his Elephants; an infinite number of Birds in Cages, and his Stables full of excellent Horses, and many of them. Then the Prince came Aboare the Ships, and after him the King. The Cannon saluted them both, and they admir'd, and were pleas'd with the Noise.

Dutch depart from Banda.

Come to Java.

Portuguese Renegado.

Presents to and from the King.

Tuban

**Tuban Ca-
pital of
Java.**

**Trade of
that City.**

Habit.

**The Kings
Dress.**

**Commerce
settled be-
tween the
Dutch and
Javaneses.**

**Madura
Island.**

Tuban is the King of *Java's* Court, the strongest of all the Cities in that Island, encompass'd with a high Wall, divided by several Gates with Towers on them, contains stately Structures, and Squares appointed for the publick Resort of Traders, the King is extraordinary rich, and in a few Hours can gather a great Number of Horse and Foot. His Palace is truly Royal, his Family consists of the Prime Nobility, and he is very powerful at Sea. They call their Ships Juncks; which being loaded with Pepper, and other Product of the Country, as Silks and Cloths, the Manufactures of his People, are sent to *Balim*; where bartering them for Cloaths, they transport those to other Kingdoms, as those of *Banda*, the *Moluccos*, and *Philippines*. Whence, and from other Islands, having improv'd their Commodities, they bring Mastick, Nutmegs, Cloves, and other Spice. All the Country abounds in Cattle, which graze all Day in the Woods, and are hous'd at Night. Their Habit is the same as at *Banda*, and covers their Bodies from the Waste downwards, the rest upwards remaining naked, They all wear Daggers, call'd *Crises*, and the Nobles stately long Vests, the Fullness whereof waves in the Air magnificently. None of them goes abroad attended by less than ten or twelve Servants, one of which always carries for his Master a little Basket full of the Leaves of a certain Plant they call *Betele*, which they chew with green Nuts, and a little Lime. This Composition they call *Ledon*; in chewing, it yields a Juice, which they swallow, and then spit out the green Substance, after the Virtue has been extracted in their Mouths.

They were so overjoy'd at the coming of the *Dutch*, that the next Day they invited them to see their Diversions. The King was present a Horse-Back, clad in several Sorts of rich Silks, but all Girt about him. To his Belt hung a Cymiter, in a Scabard adorn'd with precious Stones; the Hilt of beaten Gold, with a Devils Head form'd on it. On his Turbant he had abundance of Feathers. All the Nobility follow'd him, Dress'd much after the same manner, mounted on stately prancing Horses, but smaller than ours, with rich Furnitures of *Spanish* Leather, studded, and plated with Gold, and Figures of Serpents; and in some of the Bridles they had Stones, so white that they look'd like Alabaster. Sometimes they ran streight forwards, and sometimes in a Ring, casting their Darts. When the Sport was over, they attended the King, by whose Orders they carry'd aboard the Ships, and to the *Dutch* Men's Lodgings, a great quantity of Rice, Sheep, Goats, Hens, Eggs, Fish, and Fruit, as Coco-Nuts, Mangos, Lemons, and delicious Bananas. Then they fell to treating of Trade, and Amity, and thought every Thing cheap except the Pepper, for they not liking the Commodities the *Dutch* offer'd in Exchange for it, lifting up their Hands cry'd, *Lima*, which, in their Tongue, signifies five Pieces of Eight. So much they demanded for a Measure of theirs. They were well receiv'd in all Respects, except in Relation to admitting of their Sect.

They had deliver'd Letters to the King from Count *Maurice*, which he answer'd in the *Persian* Tongue, and the *Dutch* having receiv'd them, left *Tuban*, on the 24th of the same Month, with fair Weather, and well furnish'd with valuable Commodities and Provisions. Passing by the Island *Sidago*, they anchor'd between *Java* and *Madura*; founded the Depth, and notwithstanding the Current, and that the Ground was a stiff Muddy Hill, they

they visited *Madura*, landing on the East-side; but remov'd presently to the City *Arosbay*, on the West, and afterwards thence to *Forta*, to get Guides, or Pilots to conduct them to the rest of the *Moluccos*. They sent to Compliment the King of *Madura*, who presently after the Audience, sent the Vice-Admiral a Sheep, with which went the Renegado, who had brought him a Dagger, they call *Criz*, from the King of *Tuban*, richly adorn'd with Gold and precious Stones, and the King's Head engrav'd on the Pommel. They found a *German* settled in the Country, rich in Spice, and understood by him, that at *Arosbay* they had seiz'd 40 of their Companions. The Island of *Madura*, next to *Java*, inclines to the Northward. They wear the same Habit as in the other; but are sharper Witted. It is most fruitful in Rice, but loth in Reaping and Plowing, the Peasants and Buffalos are mir'd up to the Knees, the continual Inundations keeping the Ground so wet. Few Ships come to it, by reason of its inaccessible Shoales. They have the same common use of Weapons, Elephants, Horses, Spears, Campilanes, or Cymiters, and Shields. The *Crizes*, or Daggers, worn by the King's Guards are of Silver. The City *Arosbay* is Populous, and well Wall'd. The *Hollan'ers* main Design in coming to it, was, as has been said, to take in Pilots, and other Necessaries to proceed to the *Molucco* Islands; to which Purpose, and to avoid the Shoals lying betwixt *Java* and *Madura*, they divided their Ships. The Vice-Admiral, with the *Guelder* and *Zealand*, pass'd the Channels of *Madura*, in order to joyu, at *Forta*, the Junks that sail for *Ternate*, and thence to the other *Molucco* Islands.

Madura Described.

Arosbay City.

Dutch taken by the King of Madura.

The Admiral *Sticht Utrecht*, running along the length of *Madura*, came to an Anchor before *Arosbay*. He sent out a Number of his Men in the Boat, to bring Rice, and other Provisions from Shore. No sooner were they landed, then seiz'd, disarm'd, stripp'd, and carry'd before the King. Those staying long, another Boat was sent with only three Men, and the same befell them. The Prisoners intreated the King to give leave, that those three, or any others, might go to give the Admiral an Account. He granted it, but upon Condition, that as soon as they had deliver'd the Message, they should return to Prison. They gave Notice of their Misfortune, and the Admiral sent away a Boat to carry immediate Advice to his Countrymen at the City *Forta*, writing several Letters to procure the Prisoners Liberty. The Vice-Admiral came with his Ships, and joyu'd those at *Arosbay*. The King demanded the two biggest Brass Guns aboard the Admiral, many Pieces of Silk, and one thousand Pieces of Eight for the Ransom of the Prisoners. The Admiral answer'd, That the Cannon was not his own, but belong'd to all his Nation, and therefore he desir'd him to moderate the Ransom, and turn it into Money, or take it out in such Commodities as he brought. Six Days were spent in Treating, and the Delay made the Conclusion more Difficult; and therefore the Admiral believing, that his Men were kept Prisoners in their own Boats, or near the Sea, without any considerable Guard, he order'd all his Men to land at once, and to Rescue them by Force. An hundred and fifty *Dutchmen* attempted it, but saw a great Number of People gathering on the Shore, led by the *Portugueses*, who carry'd white Colours, in token of Peace, giving out that they came to treat of an Accommodation, which, as *Hugo* affirms, was a Stratagem to gain Time for the Citizens to Arm. The *Dutch* either suspected, or had Notice

His Demands for their Ransom.

Attempt to Rescue them by Force.

*Dutch De-
feated.*

*Ceremony
in giving
Quarter.*

*Prisoners
Ransom'd.*

*Dutch De-
part.*

*Come to
Amboyna.*

of it, and forming a small Body with about 20 Musquetiers, contriv'd to have their other Boats draw nearer, that so the Seamen and Officers might come to Fight, according to the appointed Order. More Men came out of the City, at another Gate, to enclose them unawares in the Port. The *Dutch* saw into the Policy, and were sensible of the Danger, and therefore sent two other Boats to guard the Port. This Precaution was the saving of their Lives; but they could not escape a Shower of Arrows, wherewith the *Arosbayans* thought to subdue them, not so much by their Force, and the Harm receiv'd, as by keeping the Enemy in Play, that so they might spend their Powder, and be oblig'd to retire to their Ships. Nor would they have been safe there, for now the Wind and Sea threatned them, and thirty six Men belonging to the Admiral, and thirteen to the *Zealand* were Drown'd, and the Boats cast away. Some few escap'd, whom they did not kill, at the Request of the Renegado of *Tuban*, but they were made Prisoners. These kneeling down, to move Compassion, with their dismal Looks, and Tears, the Conquerors laid a Handful of Earth on their Heads, a Ceremony they use towards the vanquish'd, whose Lives they grant. Perhaps they themselves know not the Reason, and Original of this Custom. Five and Twenty were lost in this Encounter, fifteen of the Admirals, one of *John Marts*, and nine of the *Zealand*. The Prisoners were carry'd to a Country Cottage; three Men dangerously wounded, one Trumpeter, and a Herald put into Chains, the others only their Hands bound. The rest were carry'd far from these, and put into a deep Cellar. The Herald being brought into the King's Presence, he ask'd him, whether he would stay in his Country, promising, among other Favours, that he would marry him to two of his own Wives. The *Dutchman* answer'd, returning Thanks, but with Freedom in his Looks, That with his good leave he had rather return to his Companions. He was therefore carry'd, with the Trumpeter, about the City, and at his going out at the Gate saw all the Prisoners, being fifty one, who were conducting, under a Guard, to another Island.

In fine, the Agreement was concluded, and the King discharg'd them for 2000 *Florines*. So they return'd to their Ships, except two, who hid themselves, taking a liking to that barbarous Way of living. The Governour *Jacob Marts Dy'd*, his Body was cast into the Sea, and the rest sailing to the Northward, directed their Course for the Island of *Celebes*. They pass'd by *Combay*, six Leagues from it, and beyond that of *Bouton*, and escap'd the Ridges of Rocks of *Cebessa*, which are not mark'd down, nor taken Notice of in Maps. There fell mighty Rains, and they steer'd North East for the Island of *Amboyna*, and in sight of *Boora*. A Boy dy'd aboard the *Zealand*; another falling off a Yard, into the Sea, held a Rope's End in his Mouth, that his Arms might be at Liberty to swim, and quitted it not, till he had Help, and was sav'd. The next Day they lay by, and their Preacher made a long Spiritual Discourse upon the Sacraments, to celebrate the solemnity of Baptizing two Boys, whom he had already Catechis'd. On the first of *March*, not far from *Blau*, to the Eastward of *Boora*, they saw three other smaller Islands, call'd *Aypoti*, *Miniba*, and *Gita*, which are not far from *Amboyna*. They pass'd by them, and arriv'd at *Amboyna* on the third of the same Month.

The Port is small, and at the Mouth of it, they were receiv'd by three Boats,

Boats, belonging to the Town of *Matel*, seated on the Mountains. Thence they went on to that of *Ito*. *Ambony* is about eight Leagues from *Banda*, to the Northward, in the Way to *Ternate*. The compass of it is fifteen Leagues, most fruitful in Cloves, Oranges, Lemmons, Citrons, Coco-Nuts, Bananas, Sugar-Canes, and other such like Product. The Natives are more open Hearted, and sincere, than those of the *Meluccos* or *Banda*; wear the same Habit; live upon the Trade of Spice; are temperate and abstemious, and great Sufferers of Hardship. Their Weapons, are Spears with Sharp twisted Ends; these they dart so dexterously, that they will hit the smallest Mark at a great Distance. They also use Cymiters and Shields, and now Muskets. They make great Masses of Sugar, Rice, and Almonds, like our Sugar-Loaves, and value themselves upon being able Seamen. Their Carcoas are like great Dragons, did these swim with their Bodies extended on the Water, and lifting up their two Ends of Head and Tail, which are gilt, and well Carv'd, and serve for Prow and Poop. At both of them hang Standards of several Sorts of Silk, and Colours, which are born up by the Wind, when they do not reach to the Water. The Admiral of *Ambony* came with three of these Vessels full of arm'd Men, to see the *Dutch*, with a Noise of Kittle-Drums, and Brass Basons hanging on the Musitian's Left-Shoulder, and striking them with the Right-Hand, as they do the Tabors in *Spain*. They sang their set Airs, understood by none but the Native *Ambony*es, tho' attentively listen'd to by the *Dutch*, for their Strangeness. The Slaves also sang to the Noise of their Oars. They fir'd the three Guns every *Carcoa* carry'd, being a Salute, in Honour of their Guests; who relying on that Reception, dropt their Anchors, posting many Sentinels, because they observ'd the Natives had done the same in all Parts, and there were constant Fires in many Places.

Their Weapons.

Carcoas.

Musick.

The *Ambony*ese Admiral ask'd them, What they came for, and who they were, and having heard their Answer, gave them leave to go ashore, and Dutch per-expose their Commodities, allowing them free Commerce, contrary to his Majesty's Prohibition, which us'd to be more punctually observ'd in this Island. The *Dutch* Vice-Admiral went ashore, where he was well received, and conducted to a Seat cover'd with Sails of Ships, supported by Trees, full of Fruit not known in *Europe*. He easily prevail'd with the Governors, to allow him full Liberty to Trade. Their Success was forwarded by *Cachil Azude*, Brother to the King of *Ternate*, who happen'd to be there then, celebrating his Nuptials, being newly come with his Bride, who was the Daughter of a *Sangiack* of *Batochina*. He had long courted, and desir'd to be marry'd to her, but was oppos'd by the Father, who had promised her to the King of *Bachian*. We shall say no more of their Love, nor of what became of the Prince, because it is no essential Part of this History. He presently repair'd to the *Dutch*, and order'd them to be furnish'd with those Loaves made of Sugar, Almonds and Rice, with Coco-Nuts, Bananas, and Wine made of Rice, and this so lavishly, that the *Dutch* Relations own they had scarce Room to lay up such Plenty of Provisions. The same would have been, had they bought them, for they had so much for a Pewter Spoon, that they knew not what to do with it. The *Ambony*ese Admiral went aboard the Ships again, was pleas'd to see the great Guns, and the Variety and Plenty of Merchandise. The Prince of *Ternate*

mitted to Trade at Ambony.

King of Ternate's Brother assists the Dutch.

Plenty of Provisions.

did the same, and both of them at their coming and going were saluted by the Cannon. They had private Conferences with him, and other Noblemen of the *Moluccos*, who attended him. They erected Factories in several Parts of *Amboyna*, and agreed that the two Ships, *Guelder* and *Zealand*, should Sail for *Banda*, whilst the other two lay two Months to load and rest at *Amboyna*. We shall mention hereafter what befel these in *Ternate*, let us now return to the other two.

Two Dutch
Ships sail
for Banda.

They sail'd with a fair Wind, but one of them stuck in the Flats of *Ceru*, so that she could scarce be got off. Below *Jealau*, they met a *Portuguese* Ship at *Naesau*, the Inhabitants of which Place eat Mans Flesh. They pass'd on merrily by *Poelfetton*, two Leagues short of *Banda*, on that Side. It is

Island of
Devils.

desert, and uninhabited, infamous, for stronger Reasons, than the *Greeks* alledge against the *Acroceraunian* Rocks. There are Cryes, Whistles, and Roarings heard in it at all Times, and dreadful Apparitions are seen, with Fires ascending through the Air; and long Experience has shown, that it is inhabited by Devils. Therefore Sailors, when they pass in Sight of it,

Dutch Pi-
lot frighted
by the
Devil.

which seldom happens without Storms, make all the Sail they can to get far off, from the very Wind that blows on it. The *Dutch* chief Pilot knowing so much, furiously took such fast hold of the Helm, that all the rest could not put him from it; He drew it to him violently, thinking that Force drove on the Ship; his Face grew fiery, and his Breast not being able to contain his Wind, he breath'd fast, and groan'd, till being past the Island, the grew merry, and whistling loud, scoff'd at the Devil, because he could not cast away the Ship; yet soon after he was in Disorder again, and dropt the Helm; they recover'd him, and made all sail to go forward.

Trade at
Banda.

They arriv'd at *Banda*, near the River, on the fifteenth of the Month. Several *Bandese* Boats came out, offering their Spice. The *Dutch* landed, carrying with them sundry Commodities, which they expos'd in Shops. A rich *Turk*, who was in Esteem, entertain'd them. They built Houses on the Island, and a few Days after hear'd News of their Admiral, by some *Chinese* Ships, that came from *Amboyna*; and were inform'd, that the *Portugueses* were already at War with the Natives, for entertaining and allowing them Factories.

Return
thence.

On the fourth of *July*, having settled Trade at *Banda*, they sail'd thence towards *Noeselau*, along the Channels of *Zeru*, without regarding their Admiral, who was promoting, and fomenting the War at *Amboyna*. They sail'd in Sight of *Routon*, which is in five Degrees of South Latitude, and of the Island *Cobayna*. On the twelfth they pass'd the Coast of *Celebes*, and on the seventeenth, by that of *Madura*, and again discover'd *Arosbay*, where the Misfortune we have spoken of befel them. They ran along the Coast of *Java*, and in the Evening came to *Iacatra*, where they cast Anchor, sent to visit the King, and their Compliment was return'd by him with a Present of Rice, Fowl, and Coco-Nuts, and a Buffalo for the Vice-Admiral. The *Zealanders*, who had been left at *Banda* in their Houses and Factories, in the Cities of *Montelongo*, and *Soleparvo*, by Letters of the first of *August*, acquainted them, how the new Friendship was establish'd. From this Time the *Dutch* began, without any Opposition, to possess themselves of the Provinces belonging to the Crown of *Spain* in *Asia*.

They took Leave of that King, and return'd to *Banda*, with the Natives of

of which Place they had now contracted such Familiarity, that some Ships belonging to *Bandese* Merchants, which they met by the Way, presented them with a considerable Quantity of *Porcelane*. At their Arrival the Governor came out to meet them, with 400 Men, inviting them to take some Refreshment ashore, which they refus'd, but made presents to each other, and drank out great Vessels of Wine made of Rice, which is a powerful and strong Liqueur. Continuing their Voyage on the tenth of *September*, towards the South West, they thought they were under the Tropick of *Capricorn*. On the thirtieth, they were in 28 Degrees, with the Wind at West, somewhat Northerly, and ran thirty Leagues beyond Cape *S. Roman*, after they had been tofs'd among many Islands, in thirty two Degrees and a half South. Next they discover'd Cape *Ploemera*, of the Southern *Ethiopia*, or Land of the *Cafres*. A Storm dispers'd the Ships, but they met again when it ceas'd, at Cape *Anquillos*. On the seventh of *September* they arriv'd at the Island *S. Helena*; the Master went ashore, kill'd many wild Beasts; and furnish'd the Ships with Fruit, there being Plenty of both. The Sick recover'd there: They went into the solitary Church, and on the first of *January*, 1600, they sail'd thence, and being come into five Degrees of North Latitude, on the thirtieth of the same Month, observ'd an Eclypse. Then they began to discover the North Pole, which had been out of their Sight so long. On the thirteenth of *February* they had Sight of the Island *Mayo*, or *May*, one of those of *Cabo Verde*, and about the End of *March* discover'd the *English Hills*. In fine, they arriv'd at the *Texel*, and thence to *Amsterdam*, where they unladed that spicy Wealth, the like, for Quality and Newness, had never yet been brought to *Lisbon*; at least *Hugo's Relations* tell us, there might have been as precious Oyl drawn from these, as when they were just gather'd.

S. Helena Island.

Whilst these two Ships, *Zealand* and *Guelder*, were sailing Home, the other two, *Amsterdam* and *Utrecht*, being almost naturaliz'd at *Ambon*, departed thence for *Ternate*, on the eighth of *March*, 1599, in the Company of three *Funks*, full of *Javane* Soldiers, well arm'd, and hir'd to attack a Fort. that was defended by *Portugueses*. Before their Departure, some of them went ashore, and among other Game, took Abundance of green Pigeons, as big as our Ducks. They loaded with Clove, because it is sold in that Island for thirty five Royals a Bar, which is there 150 Pounds. They were inform'd, that the *Dutch*, who had been left at *Banda*, would soon come to joyn them. The *Portugueses* attacking a Fort with ill Success, the *Dutch*, who were before agreed with the Prince of *Ternate*, arm'd, and mix'd with his Men. This was the first Time they ever fought with the Subjects of *Spain*, in those Parts; and the *Dutch* Author, who gives an Account of this Action, says, the Islanders look'd upon it as a Prodigy.

Green Pigeons.

Having settled Commerce at *Ambon*, they sail'd away for the Islands of *Ternate*, taking for their Guide, a Captain, who pretended to them, that he was Brother to the King of an Island; and to magnify his Grand-Father, boasted he had kept seventy lawful Wives, besides Concubines; and that his Son, to vye with him, had forty Wives, besides Mistresses. So says the Journal of that Voyage, writ by them who perform'd it. They discover'd the Islands of *Tydore* and *Ternate* on the twenty sixth, and coming to an Anchor at the latter, in fifteen Fathom Water, put out their Colours,

Dutch at Ternate.

The King
goes to
view the
Ships.

Colours, fired their Cannon, and spar'd for no real or vain Ostentation. The King of *Ternate*, whose deep known Sagacity is such, that he trusts no other but himself to observe what Dangers may threaten, went into his own *Carcoa*, attended by many others, on the 28th of *May*, and sail'd to the Place, where the *Dutch* lay at Anchor. He drew near and inclos'd the Ships, call'd to the Admiral, and ask'd him, who he was, whence his Ships, and other Particulars. These Questions and Answers held some Hours, by Means of the *Naguatato's* who interpreted the Discourse. The Admiral intreated the King that he would please to come aboard his Ship. He excus'd himself, first alledging, that he did not like those Ladders they shov'd him to go up to them, tho' they had purposely cover'd them with fine Cloth; and afterwards, that the Sun was setting, and it was Time for him to repair to his Devotions. Having made this godly Excuse, he sail'd towards the City, the Air resounding with the Noise of his Brass Basons, Flat Tabors, Guns, Shouts, and *Persian* Songs.

He re-
turns.

The 29th he drew near to the new Comers again, with 23 *Carcoas*; in which he had 100 Brass Guns for his Defence, and firing them all at once, to the clattering of Bells, made show of his Warlike Preparation. The Confusion of it being over, tho' they sang Verses, as they do to denote Peace, in the *Malay* Tongue, so they call the Language of *Malaca*, whence it was convey'd to the *Moluccos*; yet the *Dutch* made ready their great Guns, Muskets, and half Pikes. They plac'd some arm'd Men out of Sight in every Ship, as also where they might be taken Notice of, showing, or at least not concealing their Jealousy, that so no sudden Surprise might find them unprovided. The King's *Carcoa* drew near alone, and those who were in it spoke to the *Dutch* Admiral, by Means of the *Naguatato*, without showing themselves.

Talks with
the Dutch.

The King was satisfy'd with only talking to them, and withdrew; after Noon he return'd with only two *Carcoas*, one of which tow'd a Boat after her. Being come up to the *Dutch*, he began to talk to the Vice-Admiral; enquir'd after their Guns, and order'd the other *Carcoa* to stand further off, and the Captain going too far, the Boat, either accidentally, or by Design, broke loose from the Stern, and was over-set by the Waves; the King then desired the Admiral to fire at it with a Ball, that he might see whether they could hit or sink it. They fir'd immediately, the King being well pleas'd to see that the Shot had stav'd the Boat in Pieces. The Admiral laying hold of this Opportunity, took Care, whilst they were commending the Shot, which serv'd to disguise the Threat, to let him know that he could with as much Ease sink the *Carcoas*. This Tryal satisfy'd the King, who soon after gave leave for that Nation to Trade in his Dominions, and barter Cloves, Spice, precious Stones, and Pearls, all which is there to be found, by reason of the Resort of the *Japonesse*, *Camboxa* and *Chinese* Ships. Of these last they then saw some all made of Wood alone, even to their Anchors, and the Sails of Cane. They came to an Anchor at *Ternate*, where the first Thing they did, was burying of *Reynart Reynarts*, a *Dutch* Soldier, scarce worthy of that Buryal, Idolaters and *Mahometans* resorting to the Funeral. The King the next Day sent a *Carcoa* to acquaint the *Dutch*, that he would go aboard their Ships, and a Boat

Gives them
leave to
Trade.

came

came to the Admiral's Side, with only four *Ternates* in a private Habit, who, by their Questions, Curiosity, and Solicitude, seem'd to be Spyes, as they did by all their Discourse, which was on sundry Subjects, and very full of solid Reflection; which was held on, and listen'd to, with Attention and Dissimulation.

When the *Dutch* expected the King would come, they understood he was one of the four then talking to them from the Boat. They signify'd to him that they knew him, and he did not deny it. They pay'd him the Respect due to a King; but then he refus'd to return to the Ship. Notwithstanding these Jealousies, he approv'd of the Behaviour of that People. On the second of *June* Embassadors went ashore, who carry'd the King a Present, which he accepted of, and treated them courteously. They return'd, full of Admiration of the infinite Quantity of Cloves, and the wonderful Woods of them; and bringing the News, that the *Ternates* would soon come to view and buy the *Dutch* Commodities.

The King visits the Dutch in Disguise.

The next Day they came in great Numbers, *Sangiacks*, *Cachiles*, and Commons, Barbarian Ladies, and all Sorts of Women, with Variety of Attendance. The Shores were cover'd with sundry Sorts of People; differing in Habits, Colour, and great Diversity of Feathers; among them many naked, and of various Countenances, for all flock'd out, as if it had been some publick Festival. Tho' they admir'd the Wealth of the Ships, yet they rais'd the Price of the Bars of Clove so high, that they could not come to any Agreement, because that was to be their main Loading. They went ashore on the 10th and 11th, to see whether they abated any Thing of the Price, and to some other Purposes, which do not concern us, tho' they might be some Ornament, but shall be left in the Originals where they were writ. They could not conclude any Thing with the King, or his Subjects, because they were celebrating a Festival, and the *Dutch* were present at the Shows.

Concourse of People to the Dutch.

A Sort of Combatants, like the *Roman Pugiles*, and *Gladiators*, tho' differing in some Respects, fought in a large spacious Square. These *Ternates* did not move from one Place to another, nor hurt one another, but stood continually upon one Foot, without changing or easing it, on any Account; but the Foot that was lifted up, mov'd about and stretch'd in the Air, without being put to the Ground. Their Mistresses, Wives, or Sisters attended in the Field, with Branches of Flowers, and *China* Dishes full of *Aromatick* Liquors, to refresh those that were ty'd; but most of them attended the Conqueror. The Sport being ended, the next Day the King repair'd to the Ships, but went not aboard. Discoursing with the Admiral, he ask'd him for a gilt Musket, which he presented him, and the King did not think fit to receive Gratis, because he had ask'd for it; he therefore order'd, that when the *Dutch* paid the Tithe of the Spice, which is the Duty he has from Merchants, they should have two Bars and a half discounted for the Price of the Musket, and that they should be furnish'd with every Thing they had Occasion for besides. He was well pleas'd one Day, that the *Dutch* should see how a Boy of eleven Years of Age, was led about the Streets, with his Hands bound, because he had stolen a *Tubac*, that is, a Leaf of a Frail, with as many Cloves as it would carry; because this was an Instance of their Severity in punishing that Offence.

Indian Gladiators.

The King asks a Musket, and pays for it.

Severe Punishment of petty Larceny.

The

The other Boys, shouted and sham'd him, proclaiming the Theft with loud Voices.

Triumph of Ternates. About this Time some *Ternate* Troops return'd Home victorious, having plunder'd and destroy'd a Town in the Island of *Tydore*. They march'd into the City on the 20th of *July*, the King being present, with their *Campilanes*, or Cymiters drawn, and bloody, with half Heads, Ears, and Hair of those they had conquer'd, or slain, sticking to them. They show'd the Shields and Weapons they had taken from them, their Cloaths and Feathers, and 43 Prisoners, who follow'd dragging Chains, some about their Necks, and some at their Heels. Among them was a brave Youth, 21 Years of Age, who was a *Sangiack* of Note, and Kinsman to the King of *Tydore*; as also a very beautiful *Portuguese* Lady, Wife to a Captain in that Fort. They walk'd about the City, with all this State and Plunder, till they came to the King's Palace; there the Captives were sacrific'd, and the *Portuguese* Lady sold for a Slave, a rare Piece of Mercy, and purchas'd by her Tears. The King of *Ternate* honour'd the Chief of the *Tydores*, smiling and lovingly encouraging him, as Kinsman to a King. The Youth excusing himself, and pleading Innocence, to gain the Victor's Favour, he return'd a favourable Answer, and bid him wash himself. Sweet Water was brought to wash their Hands, and it was poured over the King's Hands and his, at the same Time, out of one Ewer. Then the Captive thus assur'd, letting fall his Hands with the Water, which, perhaps, is a Ceremony to denote Peace, and bowing his Head by way of Civility, a Soldier struck him on the Neck with a sharp *Campilane*, or Cymiter, so furiously, that the Head dropt at some Distance from the Body half alive; then they cut both the Head and Body into small Pieces, all which, to exercise their utmost Rage, they put into a *Prau*, which is a little Boat, and then sunk all together in the Sea.

**Barbarous
Perfidious-
ness.**

**More of
their Cru-
elty.**

**The King
aboard the
Dutch
Ships.**

**Foolish Be-
haviour
of his.**

Four Days after another Parcel of *Ternates* came with several *Tydore* Prisoners, whose Heads they cut off in the Port, as they did that of a Stranger, who came peaceably to the Island with Merchandize. All these Spectacles the *Dutch* beheld. Such good Use do those Barbarians make of Victory. Friendship being now establish'd with the *Dutch*, and the King well assur'd of it, he resolv'd to go aboard their Ships. He went aboard the Admiral on the 25th of *July*, with all his Guard, where nothing escap'd being narrowly view'd and observ'd by him, with a seeming willingness to buy it. He desired the Admiral to leave some of his Men at *Ternate*, which was refus'd at that Time. He view'd the Ship over again, and going into the Cook-Room, very much admir'd a Pair of Bellows, wherewith they kindled the Fire in his Presence, and seeing the Use they were put to, took them into his own Hands, and was a considerable Time opening and shutting of them; then biting and pressing the Nozle with his Lips, he began to swallow the Wind it blow'd out, swelling himself up, not without much Laughter and Astonishment of the *Dutch*, who write, they Thought the King was either running Mad, or had no Sense before. He begg'd those Bellows, and being presented with them, was highly pleas'd. He return'd several Times after to the Ships, with a greater Design in his Head, which was to try whether he could by any Means contrive to seize them. He was pleas'd to see how affectionately his Subjects

traded

traded and trusted them with their Spice. At length they prevail'd upon the Admiral to leave some of his Men, with a good Sum of Money, to buy up Cloves the next gathering. The first Dutch Factors left at *Ternate*, Dutch Factors were *Francis Verdoes*, Father to *William*; *Diricht Floris*, *Jacob Lamberts*, & *John Fans*, of *Grol*; *Cornelius Adrians*, and a Boy of *Amsterdam*, whose Name was *Henry Fans*. These laid the Ground for the second Enmity, with the first Rebels of that Nation, who conspir'd with the *Ternates*, and were afterwards the Occasion of other Fleets and Succours coming into those Parts, against their Natural Sovereign.

These Men being left at *Ternate*, and having receiv'd Intelligence that the Brigandines were returning from the Island of *Banda*, the Ships sail'd from *Ternate*, on the 19th of *August*, passing by the Island *Maca*, among the other *Moluccos*, and that of *Oba*, to the Northward. Then in two Degrees and a half Latitude, they discover'd so many Islands, that they could not count them; others they saw, not set down in the Maps, and learnt their Names from some Sailors. Among them was that of *Banquore*, and its Neighbour *Sabobe*, whose King resides in that of *Mitara*, and has 30 more within a very small Compass. He furnish'd them with Provisions, and gave Notice of Dangerous Ridges of Rocks; to avoid which, they return'd the same Way they came, in Sight of *Amboyna* and *Celebes*. On the 13th of *November*, they were inform'd at *Jaquetra*, that the Vice-Admiral was already gone from *Banda*; and had there a great Quantity of Rice, brought but just before by *Chinese* Vessels.

Dutch
depart
Ternate.

On the 17th they came to *Banda*, where at *Montelongo*, and *Soleparoo*, they found the two *Zealand* Ships, which having traded about eight Months with little Profit, design'd to return. On the 15th of *January* 1600, the Admiral made the Governour of *Banda* some *European* Presents, and among them a small Boat, all cover'd with fine Scarlet. All the Merchants met and set sail for *Holland*, on the 21th of the same Month, and sail'd all *February*, with stormy Winds, and loss of some of their Men, till the Weather mended on the third of *March*. On the 13th of *April*, in the Latitude of 34 Degrees and a half, they found themselves somewhat above 20 Leagues from the Cape of *Good Hope*. On the 16th of *May*, At the they reach'd the Island of *St. Helena*, where, at some Distance, they disco- Cape of ver'd other Ships. Some Men landed, and admir'd its strange Fertility Good among those Mountains. They saw another Island, whose bare Rocks, Hope: without Trees or Grass, look as if they were made of Coals; and among them are Abundance of monstrous wild Boars, yet nothing could be seen S. Helena. to grow, or any living Creatures they could feed upon. There were also large Tortoises, some of them weighing 400 Weight. On the last of Desert May they made for the *Texel*, and thence to *Amsterdam*, where they were Island. receiv'd with publick Rejoycing; and they again prepar'd to return to *India*, and continuing their Trade with those barbarous King; who are Masters of the Spice, Metals, precious Stones, Pearls, and other foreign Wealth, have at length converted the Friendship they kindly offer'd at first, into Slavery, and Subjection to the Tyranny of *Holland* and *Zealand*. And in the Year 1600, with more Expedition, they sail'd into *Guinea*, and to *S. George de la Mina*, with only two Ships, the first Time, and ran through the same Ports and Islands, throughout our Seas in Safety. They

Nova
Zembla.

took particular Accounts of all Things, whether Natural, or Political, relating to that vast extended Country of *Asia*, which is almost opposite to *Europe*, and under other Stars, and another Pole. The same Year, being in search of the *North-Passage*, in 80 Degrees of Latitude, they discover'd *Nova Zembla*, where they found nothing but monstrous white and grey Bears, which did not run, but rather took little Notice of the Noise of Cannon, and devour'd Men; there were also white Crows, no less undaunted; and in short, most of that Part of the World was desert, and they found not the Passage they expected into the South-Sea. Yet they now sail'd all those Southern Parts, at all Seasons, making a Jest of the *Monsons*, the *Portugueses* so mightily observe, as if they had them shut up in Skins, like the Fable in *Ulysses*. Perhaps they buy fair and stormy Winds, as is said to be done in *Lapland*, at settled Rates, of Witches that deal in them.

Vanity of
the King
of Ternate.

The King of *Ternate* was so puff'd up with the Friendship, and Support of the Northern Nations, that he durst boldly flatter himself with the Hope of becoming absolute Master of *Tydore*. Accordingly he streightned that King, and the *Portuguese* Garrison, without allowing them the least Respite. Other *Dutch* Ships had come since the former to that Island, on Account of Trade, by the Way of *India*, with Arms and several Commodities. The *Ternate* Embassadors were treating in *England* and *Holland*, for settling of perpetual Peace and Commerce. The King had already received Answers to these Embassies, and very speedily expected an *English* Fleet, and many *Dutch* Ships, with whose Assistance he promis'd himself to destroy *Tydore*, and thence to stretch out to the *Philippines*. In the mean while, some *Dutch* and *English* remain'd at his Court, like Hostages, with a Factor, whose Business was to attend the Bartering, or buying up of Spice; to purchase which they brought him Abundance of curious Arms. This being known to the King of *Tydore*, and *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyra*, Commander of the Fort, who every Year writ to the Governour of the *Philippines* about it; they now sent a particular Embassy to *Don Francisco Tello*, giving him an Account of the Condition of those Places; of the Fort; of the Succours, and how vain it was to expect them from *India*. That an Affair of such Consequence might sort the desired Event, they appointed *Cachil Cota*, the King of *Tydore's* Brother, a notable Soldier, and most renowned Commander of the *Moluccos*, to go Embassador. He came to *Manila*, well attended, with Letters from the King, and the Commander in Chief. Those, and he, in a set Speech, (for the People of the *Moluccos* do not want Rhetorick to perswade) return'd the Governour Thanks for the Supplies he had at several Times sent them of Provisions, and Ammunition. *But what we come to desire*, said *Cachil Cota*, *is that this Work be now effectually taken in Hand, before the English and Dutch with their Fleets strengthen Ternate, and render it impregnable. We cannot but admire, that whereas the Portuguese Arms obtain such signal Victories, as are those of Calicut; over the Turks, at Diu; over the Egyptians; over the People of Cananor, of Ceylon, the Javas, Sumatra, and other Nations on that Side; and the Spaniards on this, against those of Cambaja, Mindanao, Japan, Cochinchina, and China, yet only we of the Moluccos, who lie amidst the Dominions of one only Monarch, should be left*

Embassy
from Ty-
dore to the
Philip-
pines.

The King's
Brother
Embassa-
dor.

expos'd

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. VIII.

ALL the Contents of the Letters, and other Papers, that came from the *Molucco* Islands to *India* and the *Philippines*, for the following Years, amount to nothing but Complaints, asking Relief, and giving Intelligence, not altogether below the Dignity of History, were we not come so near the last Period of it. Particularly there are Letters of the Commander of *Tydore*, *Ruy Gontalez de Sequeyra*, to the Governor of the *Philippine* Islands, wherein he complains, That whereas he had sent 400 Men, Ships, and Warlike Stores to *Cambaxa*, where his Majesty had nothing to Recover, he had furnish'd him with only twenty Soldiers. He represents to him many pressing Wants, without any Hopes of Relief from the Viceroy, by the way of *Malaca*; urging the scarcity of Provisions, Arms, and all other Necessaries. He informs him, That through his Means *Cachil Mole* had been sworn King of *Tydore*; and how faithful a Friend he approves himself to the Crown of *Sian*, and an Enemy to the *Ternates*, and that he is always solicitous for recovering of that Fort. He desires him to send the King a Present of great Guns, and other Gifts, and to do the same by the King of *Sian*, who is a Christian, and our Friend. He acquaints him how frequently the *English* and *Dutch* Ships resort to those Seas, and that he had taken some of them.

The Success of a very great and rich Ship of *Zealand*, is most particularly Remarkable: This Vessel putting into *Ternate*, and Trading with
that

Villany of the King of Ternate. that Wicked Faithless King, he consented that *Ruy Gonzalez* should contrive to cut her Cables, provided the Booty might be his: He agreed to it, exacting an Exorbitant price for the Villany. The Bargain made, and the Bribes receiv'd, they who had cut the Cables leap'd over-board, and immediately the King's Officers appear'd, who seiz'd all the Loading, the Ship being beaten to pieces, to no purpose. He assures him, That the Enterprize on *Ternate* might be effected with 400 Spaniards; and promises to send him a great piece of Amber, as an extraordinary Rarity, from the Isle of *Mava*, which are 60 Leagues from the *Moluccos*. He again gives Advice of Northern Galeons, and that one of them, in four Hours, had batter'd that Fort, shot into it 261 Bullets; one of which he sent him; and that they had beaten down a large Curtin of the Wall, which was then Repairing.

English Infest the West-Indies. In the mean while *England* infested the *West-Indies*; where the Towns and Ships suffer'd by their Invasions, Robberies, and Burnings. Only that Part, which was the District belonging to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, defended it self, through the Bravery of its Governor, and for the same Reason the Enemy had Regard to it. *William Park*, the English Admiral, appear'd upon the strong and garrison'd Coasts of *America*; in the Year 1601. They defended themselves well, yet he prevail'd in some Places. On the Coast of *Cartagena* he took one *Julio*, a Fisherman, whom he afterwards set at Liberty, that he might carry the following Letter, writ in broken Spanish to *Don Pedro*.

A'miral Parke's Letter to Don Pedro. Being inform'd by Fame, with how much Generosity and Kindness your Lordship entertains Strangers, especially those of my Nation, I would not forbear expressing the Gratitude due to your Lordship for that Magnificence, on my own Part, and returning Thanks, wishing you as long a Life, and as much Health, as to my self. I would not omit writing these few Lines to your Lordship, not only on the aforesaid Account, but to acquaint you with what has happen'd to me during this Expedition. It pleas'd God to make me Master of one of the Kings Ports, call'd *Porto Belo*, which I was possess'd of a whole Day and Part of the Night, where I found some Gentlemen, particularly *Captain Melendez*, and some other Soldiers of the Garrison; and plundering the Place had very little Booty. The said *Captain Melendez*, fought like a resolute Soldier, and faithful Servant of his King, and therefore I order'd him to be dress'd by my Surgeon, and to be carry'd out of the House where he was wounded, having laid Wood in all the Houses to fire them, and consume the Town. I do assure your Lordship, and declare on the Word of a Soldier, that being inform'd of your Valour and Renown, by certain Prisoners I took, as *Captain Rolon*, and several others, and at *Porto Belo* by the King's Factor, *Funes*, and other Soldiers, that were my Prisoners, and aboard my Ship, I gave them all their Liberty, and forbore firing the City, only on Account of your Reputation, and the Fame of your good Usage to such Prisoners as fall into your Hands. So that those I set at Liberty, as also the Town, may be thankful to your Lordship for so great an Obligation, as is the Value of the said Town, and their Lives. The Castle, and the Fort at the Mouth of the Harbour, and the Port it self, so well fortify'd and furnish'd with Artillery, and all other Necessaries, did not deter, fright, or daunt me, for I went out with six Ships, and the Castles did me no Harm. Really the Commanders
and

and Guners were very honest Men. I give your Lordship Notice of two English Men, who landed at Santa Marta, near ten Months since, their Names are Abraham Collins, and Thomas Hail. These are both Spies upon Cartagena. I like the Treason, but drown the Traitor; I send you some poor Men ashore, whom I took upon this Coast, your Lordship will favour them as is due, and according to your Custom. And having Nothing else, at present, to acquaint your Lordship with, pray to God to lengthen your Life, with much Health, and Prosperity, and to give me good Luck, as is in his divine Power, is convenient for us, and I wish. From aboard my Ship, February the twenty eighth, 1601, our Stile. Your Lordships, William Park.

Don Pedro answer'd in few Words, yet so as his Brevity might not exclude Civility, and the Pyrate being satisfy'd, proceeded on his Voyage. Don Pedro The King had at this Time appointed Don Pedro to succeed Don Francis appointed Tello in the Government of the Philippine Islands, designing him for those Governor Enterprizes he afterwards perform'd. This his Majesty judg'd a proper of the Philippines. Resolution, and safe in the Execution; for what Person is fit to be pitch'd upon to Govern the utmost Limits of so far extended a Dominion, but such a one as is endu'd with both Valour and Loyalty, two necessary Qualifications to secure the Respect and Submission due to an absent Prince; a Matter of much Difficulty in remote Governments?

Since this Gentleman's own Actions, and the great Opinion his very Enemies had conceiv'd of them, are sufficient Testimonies of his Valour, let us proceed to say something of his Quality. Don Pedro had the Sur-name of *Bravo*, as being Son to Don Lewis Bravo, who serving under the Emperor Charles the fifth, on the Day the Prince of Orange dy'd, ask'd Leave to assault *S. Desir*, a strong Town in the Low Countries, on the Banks of the River *Matrone*. The History of that War informs us, that some Friends of his Father's, hearing of it, endeavour'd to obstruct it, either by dissuading the Son, or prevailing with the Emperor not to grant him Leave. His Father was *Sancho Bravo de Lagunas*, a Gentleman of Quality by Birth, and no less by his own Actions, at that Time Inspector General of the Emperor's Forces by Sea and Land, and one of his Council of War. All Men honour'd, and lov'd him entirely. They consider'd he had no other Son but Don Lewis, and the manifest Danger he expos'd himself to; but he perceiving what his Fathers Friends were contriving, took upon him to lead the Van, before they could have Time to prevent his gaining the Honour he expected; and assaulted the Place with Success, tho' not without some Imputation of Rashness. His Son Don Pedro did not degenerate, for the Brave are the Off-spring of the Brave, and the Eagle does not breed Doves.

Don Pedro's Father.

The Name of *Acunna* he took from his Mother, according to the Custom of the Kingdoms of *Castile*, where noble Families, to keep up the Honour of the Quality they acquire by Matrimony, use to revive the Names of their Progenitors even in the Grand-Children. Don Lewis *His Mc-* Bravo, marry'd Donna *Isabel de Acunna*, Daughter to Don Pedro de *Acunna*, call'd in those Days *el Cabezudo*, signifying, either the Head-strong, or Great-Headed, great Grand-Son to the first Earl of *Buendia*, a Family of known Antiquity. Among his Sons, Don Sancho Bravo, the eldest, is now

Don Pedro
Knight of
Malta.

now, when this History was writ, *Adelantado*, or Lord Lieutenant of *Ternate*, and Knight of the Order of *Alcantara*; *Don Garcia*, is Knight of *Santiago*; *Don Lewis*, of *Calatrava*; *Don John*, bred in the principal College of *Alcala*, went thence to be Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the most serene Arch-Duke *Albertus*, and is since Cannon of the Holy Church of *Toledo*, besides other Church Affairs he is always employ'd in. Our *Don Pedro* was Knight of *Malta*, and Commendary of *Salamanca*.

Comes to
Mexico.

He departed *Cartagena*, leaving that Government disconsolate, and full of the Desire of his Continuance among them. He had a good Passage, and being come to *Mexico*, and entertain'd by the Viceroy, *Don Gaspar De Zunñigay Azevedo*, Earl of *Monterey*, consulted with him about the Expedition and Recovery of the *Molucco* Islands, beginning with *Ternate*, the Head of them. They admitted to their Consultations some experienc'd Commanders in those Countries. The Result was, the Viceroy's being well affected to the Expedition, and to the Governour, who was going to undertake it, which was of no small Consequence, towards rend'ring the Preparations made in *New Spain* effective. *Don Pedro* writ to the King, to his Confessor, to the Duke of *Lerma*, and to other Ministers of State, especially the supreme Councillors of the *Indies*, very largely, in Relation to this War, showing how difficult it was, and how great a Dishonour, to permit a Tyrant to reign so long, he being so near a Neighbour. He said, he could not secure any Ships, nor even the Provinces, against the *Moluccos*; and that, had he not been promis'd to be enabled to recover them, he would never have accepted of the Government of the *Philippine* Islands. He sent Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, a *Jesuit*, with these Letters into *Spain*, And set out himself from *Mexico*, for *Acapulco*, the Sea-Port-Town of that Kingdom. Thence he proceeded, with four Ships of *New Spain*, to the Islands *de los Ladrones*, that is of Thieves, otherwise call'd *de las Velas*, or of Sails, from the great Multitude of Little Sails seen about them, belonging to Abundance of Boats that come out to meet the Ships.

Arrives at
the Islands
Ladrones.

Rich Ships
lost.

He directed his Course to the Isles of *Carpana*, and that of *Guan*, that no Time might be lost without doing good to others. His Design was to bring off from among those barbarous People, such Men as had escap'd of the Ship *Margarita*, cast away there the Year before, with above 1200000 Ducats; and as true Virtue never wants Matter to work on, he deliver'd twenty five Men of the many that suffer'd Shipwrack in that Place.

Twenty five
Men sav'd.

Don Pedro
at Manila.

Having perform'd this good Work, in twenty six Days he came to the Mouth of the Streight of the *Philippines*, and anchor'd at *Cabite*, three Leagues from *Manila*; where he was receiv'd with incredible, and universal Joy. His first Care was to be inform'd of the Condition his Predecessor left the Government in. He view'd every Part, and cast off the *Sangleys*, or *Chineses*, as thinking they exceeded the large Number allow'd of by the King's Order. Some interpreted the Exclusion of those People, was only to condemn the extravagant Liberties they took; but Time soon show'd, that there were other great Advantages reap'd by it. In *Don Pedro* all Men believ'd the Security of the *Philippine* Islands was come; for the Governour's Reputation was equal to the Necessities of his Province; which requir'd the Government of an experienc'd Commander, of great Name, and so vigilant as he was.

Don

Don Francis Tello resign'd up the Power into his Hands, and staying there to give an Account of his Administration, dyed in April, the following Year. The new Governour was much concern'd to find the King's Treasury empty, and himself under an Obligation of supporting the King's and his own Credit. To this Consideration belong'd the *Moluccos*, the reducing whereof he had in Charge. However he took Courage, believing he might with Industry and Labour, make amends for the Want of Cash. He attended all the Works in Person, as he had been wont to do, both at *Minila* and in the Country about, building Gallies, and other Vessels, whereof there was then a great Want, to secure the Sea, at that Time infested by the Neighbouring Pirates and Enemies, especially those of *Mindanao*. Next he visited the Provinces of the *Pintados*, and supply'd the Wants he found in those Parts. In these Passages betwixt the Islands, besides the Storms, his little Vessel, which had only three Soldiers in it, escap'd, he fell into another notable Danger. Two and twenty English Vessels enrich'd with the Booty they had taken in the Islands belonging to that Government, attempted to inclose and take him, but the Tide sailing them, they stuck on Ground, and could not get off. Don Pedro saw them throw over-board above 2000 Spaniards, and Natives they had made Prisoners, to lighten their Vessels. They also cast into the Sea a beautiful Spanish Maid, about 17 Years of Age. Afterwards the Fleet from *Manila* sail'd in quest of them, and chastis'd some, tho' the Punishment was inferior to their Cruelty.

Don Francis Tello
dies.

Don Pedro
visits his
Govern-
ment.

Cruelty of
English.

Don Pedro would fain have remov'd all Obstacles that lay in the Way to the Enterprize he had in Hand; but was oblig'd to put off for some Months that which he was most intent upon, and to dispatch the Affairs of *Xolo* and *Japan*. Chiquiro, a Japanese Ambassador, was newly arriv'd at *Manila*, with a Present of the Product and Manufactures of that Island, and orders to treat with the Governour, and settle Amity and Commerce, between the Subjects of the Emperor of *Japan*, whose Name was *Dayfusama*, and the *Philippines* and *New-Spain*. The Neighbourhood of those Provinces, the Power of the Japanese Kings, their natural Disposition, and other Considerations, which Experience had shown to be of great Moment, made against refusing of that Commerce; and yet there were Opinions to the contrary, for those very Reasons. However that barbarous Prince having once espous'd that Affair, it was not easy to find out an Expedient to settle it, without any Jealousy or Disgust. *Dayfusama* demanded, that the Spaniards should trade to *Quanto*, a Port in one of his Provinces, and that such Friendship might be establish'd, that the Japanese might go over to *New-Spain*. That the Governour should send him Shipwrights, and Workmen to build Ships in *Japan*, for performing of that Voyage, upon which *Dayfusama* was very intent, being perswaded to it by a Religious Man of ours, of the Order of St. Francis, whose Name was *P. Jerome* of *JESUS*, and for whom that Monarch had a great Esteem.

Japanese
Ambassa-
dor at Ma-
nila.

His Propo-
sals.

This was a Matter of great Weight, and on several Accounts most prejudicial to the *Philippine* Islands, whose greatest Security for so many Years, has consisted in the Japanese's wanting of Ships and Pilots, and being ignorant in the Art of Navigation. Men of Experience observ'd, that

Objections
to them.

E b

when-

whensoever the said haughty barbarous Prince has attempted to arm against *Manila*, he has still been obstructed by this Want. They said, that to send him Ship-Wrights, and Men to build him Ships after the *Spanish* Manner, would be no other than arming him against the *Spaniards* themselves; and that their Voyages would be destructive to the *Philippines* and *New-Spain*; for that the making the *Japoneses* capable of Trading far off, was not only inconvenient, but unsafe. The Governour *Don Pedro de Acunna* seriously weighing all these Reasons, order'd the Embassador *Chiquiro* to be magnificently entertain'd, made him some Presents for his King and for himself, and sent a Ship with another moderate Present, lest it should be interpreted to proceed from Fear, if it had been too considerable. This Ship sail'd with *Dayfusama* and his Embassador, both of them loaded with Commodities to barter. *Don Pedro's* Letters contain'd many Compliments, and Thanks for the good Will he show'd towards establishing more solid Friendship; but that, tho' he had ample Commission for all Things relating to the Government of the *Philippine* Islands, yet he could not satisfy that Part of his Embassy, which concern'd the furnishing of him with Sailors and Workmen to build *Spanish* Ships, without acquainting the Viceroy of *New-Spain*, nor could the Viceroy do it, without special Orders from the King of *Spain*. That he promis'd to write to them about it, for promoting the Accomplishment of his reasonable Demands; but that he must consider, it would be above three Years before they had an Answer, because of the great Length, and many Accidents of such Voyages. It was order'd that the aforesaid *F. Jerome* should himself deliver these Letters, to *Dayfusama*. The Fryar himself had a private Letter sent him with a Reproof for what he had done, and Instructions how to mend it; and that he should signify to the *Japonefe* Monarch, how highly the Governour valu'd the Inclination he show'd to settle Peace and Commerce with the *Spaniards*, and his Kindness to them; and at the same Time perswade him to continue that good Correspondence, which the Governour would inviolably observe; but that he should endeavour to divert the King's Thoughts from such Designs, and never go about to facilitate the Execution of them; because, tho' perhaps the Emperor then reigning entertain'd no sinister Meaning, nor had any farther Thought than promoting a sincere Friendship, yet that might be very prejudicial in the Days of a more mischievous Successor; who might make an ill Use of his Skill in Navigation, and improve it against the Persons that taught it him. The Governour promis'd he would soon send another Ship with Commodities to barter; and he might put the King in Hopes it would carry over some *Spanish* Ship-Carpenters to build Ships after their Manner. That he should desire *Dayfusama* to wait with Patience, and consider how heinously he would be offended himself, if any of his Governours should presume to make any new Settlements in Trade without his Privy or Order.

Instructions
to F.
Jerome.

Japonefe
Embassa-
dor cast
away.

Chiquiro return'd for *Japan* with this Answer; but when he was off the Head of the Island *Formosa*, such a dreadful Storm overtook him, that he was swallow'd up, and neither Men, Goods, nor Arms sav'd; and this happen'd in so remote a Place, that it was not known till many Days after. *Dayfusama*, at the Request of *F. Jerome*, had granted Leave for Preaching of the Gospel, throughout his Dominions, building of Churches, and such as would

would professing Christianity by publick Authority. *Don Pedro* the Governour took the necessary Measures, that so favourable an Indulgence might not be lost, and that not only barefoot *Franciscans*, but also Religious Men of other Orders should go over thither. They made use of the *Japanese* Captains and Ships, newly come to *Manila* with Meal. The *Dominicans* sent over to the Kingdom of *Zazuma* four Fryars, and *F. Francis de Morales*, Prior of *Manila* for their Superior, saying the King of that Province sent for them, being the only one, who had not yet submitted to *Dayfusama*. The Order of *S. Augustin* sent two Religious Men, and *F. James de Guevara*, Prior also of *Manila* for their Superior, and these went to the Kingdom of *Firando*. Those of the Order of *S. Francis*, sent *F. Augustin Rodriguez*, who had been Witness to the Martyrdom of his Companions in *Japan*, to *Nangasacki*, for him to go thence with a Lay-Brother to *Miaco*, and bear *F. Jerome* of *Jesus* Company. Many perswaded *Don Pedro*, not to send away these Religious Men; but tho' those Perswasions were well grounded, and some Difficulties occur'd against their Departure, he resolv'd to dismiss them. The Zeal of true Glory overcomes all Opposition. These Religious Men found no Signs of those Desires that had been signify'd to them in the Provinces they went to. Very few *Japanese* were converted, and there was less Disposition to advance, because the Kings, and *Tonos*, which are Princes had no Affection for our Religion, nor were any Way disgusted with their Idols. They only aspir'd to settle Commerce, and to trade with the *Spaniards*, for their private Interest.

*Religious
allow'd to
Preach in
Japan.*

Don Pedro sent the Ship he had promis'd to *Japan*, well stor'd with Cannon, and call'd it *S. James* the Less. The Captain, Officers, and Sailors were all Men of Experience; and she was laden with Commodities to barter, Red-Wood, Deer's-Skins, raw Silk, and several other Sorts. The Governour order'd them to dispose of what they carry'd at the Port of *Quan o*, and to furnish the Religious Men they found there, and then return with the Produce and *Dayfusama's* Leave. Thus Provision was made for all the Affairs of *Japan*, according to the present Exigences. The Ship-Wrack of the Ambassador *Chiquiro* was known, and by the good Management of *F. Jerome*, *Dayfusama* was acquainted with the Answer he carry'd, and rested satisfy'd; so that the preaching of the Gospel went on in his Dominions.

*Another
Ship to Ja-
pan.*

Don Pedro's Thoughts were all bent upon Recovering of the *Molucco* Islands, and his other Business did not make him neglect that Enterprize. *Andrew Furtado de Mendoza*, Admiral of those Seas for the Crown of *Portugal* had writ him Word, that he had Orders from his Majesty to repair to *Ternate*; but that he did not expect the Viceroy would set him out, as was requisite for that Expedition. *Don Pedro* answer'd him, to his Content, with Assurance, that he should be supported. These Letters came to the Hands of the *Portuguese* Admiral at *Malacca*, when he was ready to set out. He presently answer'd both those of the 22d of September, and the 22d of December, signifying how acceptable they were to him. Because, says he, *I love your Lordship entirely, tho' I have never seen you, on Account of your being a brave Commander, and so zealous for his Majesty's Service; not to mention other Reasons for which I am yours. I was much troubled for the Loss of the Ship, and the ill Fortune of the other, for*

*Furtado's
Letter to
Don Pedro
concerning
the Expe-
dition.*

the want you will find of the Return you expected by them: But it is to be suppos'd, that the Viceroy of New-Spain, seeing how long those Ships were missing, would impute it to some very considerable Causes, and therefore will Assist you Powerfully, for nothing less can be expected from such a Viceroy, who, I am told, is a very worthy Gentleman. I am experimentally sensible of what your Lordship writes to me; for after being in those Parts five Years, without receiving any Succours from India, when I expected these Disorders should end, and considerable Supplies would be sent me, the Viceroy furnish'd me so poorly, as will appear to your Lordship by the List of what he sends, and thence you may infer, how his Majesty is serv'd in those Parts, that your Lordship may acquaint him with it, and we may jointly so order it, that all this may not be overthrown in one Hour.

Then he complains, That they have not sent him his Majesty's Letter, nor the Archbishop of Goa had not receiv'd his; and says, *He had rather be at Plow in Old Castile, than a Witness to the ill Disposition of what is committed to his Charge:* And proceeding, says thus, Your Lordship tells me, *That as soon as I draw near the Moluccos, you will do me the favour to have in readiness for me 300 Soldiers, with Captain Gallinato, and another Captain, and two Galleys, four Brigantines, and all the Carcoas that shall be requisite. I know not what his Majesty appoints for me; but, for the Sins of these Dominions, Time has put Things into such a Posture, that I must be forc'd to repair to the Moluccos, as well to recover what is Lost, as to save what is Gain'd, which cannot be done, unless both Powers, from hence and thence, be United. Twelve Dutch Ships anchor'd this Year at the Bar of Goa: They took the Viceroy so unprovided, that they lay at Anchor a Month at the said Bar, without any Attempt made to remove them. They made great Havock amongst the Merchants Ships on the Coast of India, without any Opposition. They came from the other Sea, by the Back of Sumatra, to the Streight of Sunda. Seven of them arriv'd at Amboyna, the others being Baseuess of then parted from them. When they enter'd over the Bar, the Governour sent a Portu- two Men, to ask, whether Don Emanuel was aboard. The Ships hearing of guse Gove- it, went and Anchor'd under the Fort. Then the Governor sent three nour. or four other Men, who made the Agreement for the surrendering of the Fort. When it was sign'd the Dutch drew near; the Gates were open'd to them, and they admitted without standing one Musket Shot, or firing a Cannon. They took an Oath of Fidelity to Prince Maurice, and the Governor after committing the Treason, commanded a Black of his own to put him into Irons, saying, The People of the Town had done it. Since that he came hither, and skulks about the Mountains, and I am very earnest to take him, that I may make an Example of him. I have already secur'd some of the Marry'd Men that came hither, being fully convinc'd that the Governor and they are Enemies and Traytors. When the Dutch were possess'd of the Fort, they put more Cannon into it, with a Garrison of 140 Men, and Provisions for two Years. I have also received Intelligence, That they sent five Ships against Tydore, and I am very jealous of that Place, because of the Divisions there; wherefore I immediately sent away two Gallies, well Man'd, Arm'd, and Provided. God grant they find that Fort in the King's Possession. Thus, if his Majesty well send hither the Galeons he writes of, and commands me to serve him in these Southern Parts, I must of necessity go over that way; for since*

Amboyna

Amboyna is in the Possession of the Dutch, we may conclude Tydore will soon follow. If they extend their Dominion, from that Port, which God avert, they will thence put an End to the Affairs of the Moluccos, and of China, and with the Assistance of the Ternates must of necessity Infest those Parts about Manila; and therefore we are all oblig'd, as Christians, and his Majesty's Subjects, to Oppose such a mighty Misfortune. And since the Lot has fallen between your Lordship, and this Soldier of yours, we seem to be in some measure both of us under an Obligation to spare no Pains for the Recovering of those Parts of the Molucco Islands. For my part I will labour for the Success, tho' I were to lose ten Lives, if I had so many. But because I shall not have an Opportunity to send your Lordship Intelligence, till a Year hence, I now intreat you to have what Soldiers you can in Readiness, and the greatest Number of Natives, that we may not fall short when the work is half done, and be forced, for want of them, to put our selves into the Hands, and expect the Assistance of Traytors. The same I beg, as to Provisions; for there are none where I am at present. But since Captain Gallinato has seen all, and knows what is Necessary in those Parts, whereof he has before now given your Lordship ample Information, it will be needless to repeat it in this, being your Lordship tells me in yours, you do me the Favour to appoint him for my Companion; and he is so able a Commander, that when your Lordship orders him to prepare for this Expedition, he will take with him all he thinks proper for it. Tho' his Majesty should send several Galeons, and many Men, I shall not be able to do any thing with them in those Parts, because the main Thing there, is to have Vessels that Row, and Men that have Serv'd, whereof I am very destitute. From India none can come, tho' the Viceroy were never so willing to furnish me. However, consid'ing in your Lordships Worth, and in what you have signify'd to me by Letter, I will undertake this Expedition, believing I shall find all Things in such Readiness, that they will set out from thence the Moment your Lordship receives Advice from me. I am told your Lordship expects a Gentleman in those Parts, who comes to Conquer Camboxa. If he happens to come, I must put your Lordship in Mind, that the best Conquest is that of the Moluccos, where his Majesty's Forts will be restor'd, and there the said Gentleman may shew his Valour, and merit a considerable Reward from the King. Before the Dutch came to Amboyna, two English Ships pass'd by that Island, which sent a Letter to the Governor of the Fort, to acquaint him, that the Dutch were coming after them, with a Design to possess themselves of the said Fort, and therefore they advis'd him to behave himself well, because the Dutch they spoke of, were a poor faint-hearted People. That, if they had Occasion for Powder, Ball, and all other Necessaries, they were ready to supply him, because they were then at Peace with Spain, and the Constable of Castile was already sent into England, by his Majesty, to Ratify it: And the Post-Master-General was Embassador in Ordinary. This Intelligence leaves the Rebels no pretence to any Excuse. Furtado's Letter goes on, to other Particulars, recommending Religious Men, and Commanders and he concludes with Abundance of Compliments, and Courteous Expressions.

Don Pedro having receiv'd these Letters, order'd and hasten'd all necessary Preparations, with the utmost Diligence, pressing the Business in Spain, and with the Viceroy at Mexico, and thought all Delays tedious; but the
 Approbation

Brother
Gaspar
Gomez
forwards
the Expe-
dition.

Approbation of his Advice, and the Supplies to put it in Execution, being to come from a Center so remote, and where there lay an Obligation of being no less attentive to all Parts of the Circumference, the Expedition could not possibly be brought about sooner. Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, whose Intelligence in this Affair, was always very material, had presently Intimation of what had been resolv'd on, by Letters from *Don Pedro*; and he was so diligent in promoting it, that to advance this Cause, he cross'd the greatest Oceans as readily, as if they had been the Narrow-Seas, which part those Islands; having solicited the Viceroy at *Mexico*, and then the Counsellors, and Ministers of State in *Spain*. His Arguments and Motives were the same we have several Times mention'd in this Work. Dividing the Wealth of the South into three fix Kinds, precious Stones, and Pearls, Metals, and Spice, and Drugs; all which were distributed among Enemies, *English* and *Dutch*. That the King had no Spice left, but only that of *Tydore*, which must be lost, unless speedily and powerfully supported, and the same Forces would recover *Ternate*, *Banda*, *Amboyna*, and what had been held in *Celebes*, *Batochina*, and the Places wrested by the Tyrants of *Sumatra*. All this the Jesuit made out by Demonstration, for he ground- ed not the least Information upon any thing less than Experience.

Succeeds in
his Negoti-
ation.

He was heard in the Council of the *Indies*, and the Council of State for the Crown of *Portugal*, and dispatch'd for the *Philippines*, by the way of *New-Spain*. By the other Way, the King order'd, that the Captain General *Furtado*, taking with him the necessary Fleet from *Goa*, should sail for the *Moluccos*, by special Commission, by Virtue whereof he afterward sent to ask Assistance at the *Philippine* Islands, as we have seen, and such Supplies were to be furnish'd on both Sides, as being united, might secure the Conquest of the *Moluccos*. However the Event must of Necessity be tedious, the *Dutch* being already possess'd of all the King's Forts in the *Archipelago*; and their numerous Fleets of all the Ports, Fairs, and Trade, with Factories conveniently settled for their Intercourse between *India* and their own Country. We shall not enter upon the Account of those Affairs, because no more of them than have been already mention'd, as yet related to the *Moluccos*. Much Time, and many Precautions were requisite, for these two Commanders to joyn, amidst so many Obstacles: They sent frequent Advice backward and forward, and neither Part was idle in the mean while.

Furtado
sails from
Goa.

At length, notwithstanding all Difficulties, *Furtado* sail'd from *Goa* with six Galeons, eighteen Galiots, and one Galley, with the King's Orders, and in his Name those of the Viceroy *Arias de Saldania*, to fight the *Dutch*, and any other Enemy, and to proceed to *Sunda*, to chastize that King, and the Rebels in *Java*. He was directed to place Garrisons there, and having settled the Affairs of *India*, to proceed to the *Moluccos*. They went out with good Hearts to undertake that Work, but were hinder'd by Storms and Tempests. In the Gulph of *Ceylon*, he lost the Galley, and seventeen Galiots that were under the Conduct of *Francis de Sousa*, and *Andrew Roiz*, and in them the greatest Strength he had to compass his Designs. He was three whole Years without any Succours to proceed on his Enterprize. At *Malacca* he recruited the best he could; and in *December*, 1601, Steering his Course for *Sunda*, relying on the Succours he expected from the King of

Disabled
by Storms.

Paliuban

Palimbam, in *Java*, suppos'd to be our Friend and Contederate; but he was deceived, for that Infidel was so far from espousing our Party, that he had taken up with the King of *Sunda*, whom he intended, and afterwards actually did succour with 3000 Men. This did not dismay *Furtado*, but he sail'd on towards *Sunda*, referring the Punishment of the King of *Palimbam* to another Time: There, on the Bar, he discover'd seven Dutch Ships, which he pursu'd, tho' to little purpose, they being excellent Sailers. However the Galeon Commanded by *Thomas de Sousa Aronches*, fought five of them, killing many Dutch, without losing one Man; but her Rigging was torn, and she could not board the Enemy, who fled, drawing our Ships after them in such manner, that *Furtado* could not possibly recover the Bar, tho' he anchor'd in a Road, from whence he might have return'd to the Port.

Sails for
Sunda.

This was a special Providence, for the Enemy did not seem dispos'd to stand, and they had already been upon both Bars; and therefore reflecting on the Tears, and Groans of the Commanders, and Christians at *Amboyna*, he directed his Course towards those Islands, where he arriv'd on the 10th of *February* without being detain'd by some Victories he gain'd in his Way. The Natives and those in the Fort were alarm'd, believing they had been Enemies, but the Admiral giving a Signal, they knew the Christian Fleet. The Joy spread abroad, and the Shore was cover'd with People expressing it. *Furtado* first apply'd himself to repair the Fort, and refit the Ships. He also built four Ships, two Galiots, and twelve Carcoas. Then he set out, without losing Time, to make War on the *Itos*, and other Towns that had rebell'd against the Fort, sending *Joseph Pinto*, with 200 Portuguese by Land. The Fleet sail'd round the Island, and lay a Month in the Bay call'd *Bacacio*. *Texeyra*, Commander in Chief of the Fort, went before, with a good Number of Carcoas, to reduce some rebellious Towns, especially those which are on the Mountains call'd *Gunos*, where there are excellent sweet Waters, and large Woods of Orange Trees. These Towns acknowledge their Fault, and came to make their Submission. Seven or Eight of the principal Men came from each Town. Every Town brought a Flag, and three large valuable Basons of bright Metal, and in them a little Earth, with Branches of Clove-Trees in Blossom, in Token that they deliver'd up the Land, with the most precious of its Product. Some brought Goats, and Hens, and such Fruit as their Country afforded to denote the same.

Arrives at
Amboyna.

Subdues
the Itos.

The Gunos
submit.

Furtado knew there was a private Alliance between the Rebels of *Amboyna* and the Dutch, and that ten Ships were to come to take that Fort, and the other we had left us at *Amboyna*. They were so deeply engag'd in this Contract, that those at *Sunda*, seeing *Furtado* set sail towards those Parts, they did the same, and on the 10th of *March*, the ten Ships appear'd in Sight of the Islands, three of them coming on and treating with the Natives; yet for fear of us, they stood off to the Island *Rurro*, and the other seven to *Banda*, to sail over to the *Moluccos*. All this was known to *Furtado* by good Intelligence, besides that he receiv'd from *F. Lewis Fernandez*, Rector of the Society of *JESUS*, who was newly come from *Tyadore*, with Letters from that King, and the Christians residing there, bidding him welcome, and pressing that he would come to their Assistance; *Ternate*, because

Ten Dutch
Ships at
Amboyna.

Three of
them at
Ternate.

A new Passage to the Molucco.

People of Rosatelo burn their Town.

Submit.

People of Ito fly to the mountain.

Nao strong place, whither the Rebels fled.

Pleasant Country of Nao, and Bemnao.

because three of the seven Ships that escap'd from him at *Sunda*, were together at *Ternate*. He was also inform'd, that those Ships, had found out a Way to relieve those Ports, passing between *Borneo* and *Maceassar*, which is a shorter Cut by a Year; and that they were fortifying *Ternate* where they would not suffer the *Dutch* to leave them, but oblig'd them to stay and engage in the War they expected. *Furtado* follow'd that in *Ambony*, daily reducing some Towns that had revolted. The Inhabitants of *Rosatelo*, built on an Eminence, and well fortify'd discovering our Ships, and *Carcoas*, set fire to all their Goods, and then to their Houses, and fled to a high Mountain, where their Wives and Children were before. The Way up to it was by tying to the Trees certain *Rotas*, which are slender tough Canes, that may be knotted like Ropes, a slow and almost useless Hold, which render'd the Mountain never the less inaccessible. Yet our Men making their Way thro' Clefts, attain'd the Top two days after. The Rebels perceiving they were lost, came to receive the Conquerors with white Flags, but the King, not daring to trust to that Security, fled to remoter Parts.

The Infidels of *Ito*, puff'd up with the *Dutch* Supplies they expected, made no Doubt of routing the Christians, as soon as they landed; but perceiving they were disappointed of the Succour of the ten Ships, which sail'd by without staying, and that *Rosatelo* was reduc'd; yet they were not quite dejected, but committed their Safety to the Strength and Tops of the Mountains. They abandon'd their chief City, properly call'd *Ito*, and the Fort there erected by the *Dutch*, retiring with all their Families to the highest and most impregnable Part of the Country call'd *Nao* and *Bemnao*, being two Rocks, one above another, like the Round-Tops in a Ship one over the other; whence the Shore appears near at Hand tho' half a League distant, by Reason of the Windings of the Ways. *Nao* is all encompass'd with upright Rocks, with pleasant Planes below. There are three Ways to get up to it, but all of them so difficult, that the very Lizards can scarce climb it. On these three Passes they threw up double Trenches, with strong Ramparts, and a good Number of Brass Sakers, and Demy-Falconets to secure them. At each of them was a considerable Number of Men, with their Colours flying, and all Sorts of offensive and defensive Arms, wherewith the *Dutch* have furnish'd those Southern Seas. The greatest Danger threatned was from a great Number of mighty Stones, or Pieces of Rocks, which being roul'd down from such a Height can bear down and destroy an Army. All the Enemy's Power was now reduc'd to this single Place, and the Town standing on the first of the two Rocks, being built on a large round Spot it forms, like an *European* City with good large Houses, after their Manner. All the Country about beautify'd with Clove Trees, like our Olive Trees, but with greater Heads. Among which there ran up Branches of the Male and Female Trees, and underneath all Sorts of thorny Plants, Orange, Lemmon, Citron and *Zambos* Trees, with six, or eight Springs, each of them gushing out curious Streams of Water. All the Mountain look'd like a delicious pleasure House and Garden. On the Top of it appear'd the Town of *Bemnao*, which signifies, the Son of *Nao*, exceeding the other in Number of Houses, and Extent of Woods.

The

The General came to this Place on *Palm-Sunday*, order'd a Trench to be cast up, and Tents to be pitch'd, for a Defence against the Sun, and the Furtado Rain, which sometimes falls unexpected. He commanded an Enemy *Am-encamps at boynese*, that had fallen into his Hands, attended by some Christians, to go Bemnao. enquire into the Designs of the People of *Ito*, and to guide the Way. When they were come within hearing, and had deliver'd their Message, the Infidels answer'd, *That they were the King of Ternate's Subjects, and own'd none but him. That they would trade with the Dutch, and all other Nations they thought fit. That they would also sell Clove to the Spaniards; but that the King of Spain had a very long Neck.* Having return'd this Answer, they began to fire the Cannon. Our Men were forc'd to put up the Affront, and pass by their Fury; but the General regarding neither, order'd a Captain, on *Monday*, to view the Situation of the Place; because his Soldiers had gone up disorderly to their Trenches, and been repuls'd with Shot, and throwing of Stones, which made them retire down the Mountain with many wounded. The next Night he sent 200 Men, to possess themselves of a Mount that overlook'd the Enemies Trenches. They did so, and as soon as the Day appear'd, our Musketers pour'd in their Velleys of Shot, firing at the same Time with two Drakes, they had carry'd up with a Design to cast up another Trench, and thus they put the Enemy to Rout. The Trench was thrown up, and the next Night they remov'd the Drakes to it, drawing nearer, to make the greater Slaughter. *Gonzalo Vaz de Castello-Branco* commanded at this Pass. The Men here that Night talk'd with the besieg'd, and assur'd them, they would take their Fort the next Night, as they actually did.

Haughty Answer of the Ito.

Portugueses gain Ground.

On *Wednesday* Morning the General order'd the Drums to beat to Arms, to go up himself to the Hill where his Men were, leaving *Traiano Ruiz de Castello-Branco* below, with 50 Men, to guard the Camp; but without any Design of attacking the Fort that Day; but only to order the Men, and assign them their Posts. Whilst he was concerting this Affair with his Officers, *Gonzalo Vaz* came to them with a dangerous Shot in one of the Calves of his Legs, and five other Wounds running Blood. The Soldiers were incens'd, at the Sight of him, and signify'd they would fall on. It was given out, where the General was, that the Victorious Enemy was falling upon our Drakes, and Posts; and he improving Necessity, cry'd out, with a loud Voice, *Santiago*, that is, *S. James*, the Cry given by the *Spaniards* when they fall on. The Soldiers were so encourag'd by this Cry, that they immediately gave the Assault, with much Fury and Alacrity, climbing those smooth Rocks, upon their Hands and Feet: The Barbarians Drums and Bag-Pipes rattled in their Ears, and the Noise of their Cannon and small Shot echo'd among all the Rocks. The Enemy threw Stones, which wounded, and knock'd down our Men, and many tumbled, without being able to help themselves: Some single Stones carry'd two or three Men down the Side of a Hill, till they stopp'd at some Tree. A Captain was stunn'd with a Pebble, tho' he receiv'd it on a Steel Buckler; but he soon recover'd, and was seen upon the Enemies Works. The Cries and Shouts rent the Air. Many tumbling down forc'd out the sharp Pointed Stakes that were drove into the Ground; and presently after, as if they had flown, were seen Fighting above. Those who were left to guard

They attack the Enemies Fort.

*The Fort
taken.*

the Camp, look'd on with Emulation. Among them a Religious Man of the Order of *S. Dominick*, fell on his Knees to say the Litany, all the Men answering, and God heard him, for before it was ended, they saw our Colours display'd above, and the Enemies cast down, the Fort and Works being Demolish'd.

*Amboy-
neses a-
bandon
their high-
est Fort.*

A brave Christian, who carry'd the foremost of our Colours, was laid hold of by an *Amboynefe*, yet he, tho' shot thro' the Body with a Musket-Ball, whereof he soon after Dy'd, defended them bravely. However, notwithstanding his Resistance, and that his Captain came to his Succour, the Infidel carry'd off a Part of the Staff, which was recover'd when the Victory was gain'd. The *Amboynefes*, seeing their Works taken, and their Colours dragg'd about, withdrew to the upper-Part, leaving only three Men behind them, who dy'd Fighting, with honourable Obstinacy. They did not fortifie themselves in that Place, but abandoning their Town and Goods, and slipping down Precipices, and upright Heights with Ropes, made their Escapes; and though they burnt some of their Goods, yet many of value remain'd. The General gave Order for curing of the wounded Men, which were above 200, besides those run through by the sharp Stakes pitch'd all about the Field.

*The Towns
submit.*

The gaining of this Victory did so discourage all the Islanders, that they refus'd to take up Arms, or hazard an Engagement. Nine Towns submitted at once, the next day, and the Territory about did the same. The General came down Victorious, and erected Arbours in those Delightful Woods, with an Altar, on which Mass was sung on Easter-Day, and all the Office of the Church, with much Solemnity, in Thanksgiving, assigning the Sovereignty to that Lord, who grants, or takes away Victory, according to his secret Judgements. The *Dutch Fort* was raz'd, where, in several Places, were to be seen Escutcheons, with the Arms of Count *Maurice*. The King of *Ito* came and submitted himself; his Name, whilst an Idolater, was *Talere*, afterwards *Don Melchior*, for he was a Renegado Christian, and fled at the taking of *Rosatelo*. He deliver'd himself up, as also a famous *Caziz* he brought with him, who was a Man of much Reputation among them.

*Dutch
Fort raz'd*

*Veranula
City de-
scrib'd.*

To this Victory *Furtado* resolv'd to add those he expected at *Veranula*, a large City, and Neighbouring Island. He sail'd from *Amboyna* with all the Fleet, and arriv'd at *Veranula*, and the City of the same Name, which is populous, and its Territory the most fruitful in Clove of any in those Parts. It is built along the shore on a high and upright Rock, which look'd like a Wall, with Towers, and Stories. The Houses are high Roof'd, with Gallerias. There is a Mosque that has three Isles, with a stately Room to read the *Alcoran* in. Within the City was the *Dutch Fort*, conveniently seated, built of Stone, round, and cover'd. Beyond that was also another Stone Fort, with several salient Angles, Ravelins, and Guerries. This belong'd to the King of *Ternate*, who was Tyrant of that Part of *Veranula*. As soon as our Fleet anchor'd before the City, the Prime Men of it came to acquaint the General, That they were willing to submit, but knew not how to do it, for Fear of the *Ternates*; and therefore desir'd he would let them assemble their Council, and they would return the next Day with their Answer. *Furtado* granted their Request, sending two *Amboynefes*.

boynes of Note along with them. They return'd no Answer, but fled, not daring to stand the Fury of those who came Victorious. They fir'd a Gun for a Signal of what they were doing, and the General being assur'd of their Flight, order'd the Men to land and plunder the City. The Inhabitants had before secur'd the best of their Effects, and yet in some Houses they found above the value of 30000 Crowns, and in others less, besides many Goods of value; abundance of Brass Drakes and Muskets; China Ware, and Silks; Dutch Glasses, and great Store of Royal-Cloves. After plundering the City, they set fire to it, and it burnt for some Days. The Dutch and Ternatese Forts were raz'd. The General was inform'd by some Prisoners, that the People of *Veranula*, had expected mighty Succours against him from the Dutch Ships that were seen; and that there were aboard 100 Men to Garrison *Viranula*, and 100 more for the Fort he had demolish'd at *Ito*. Some of our Men pursu'd the Ternates as far as *Lacide-cavello*, a Town where they imbarc'd on many Vessels, for their own Island.

After this, the City *Mamala* sent to make its Submission, and many others follow'd its Example. *Furtado* having concluded this Affair, resolv'd to return to *Amboyna*, and being upon his Departure, *Francis de Sousa Teve* came to him, with ten Portuguese, who had been, not long before, taken by the Dutch Ships. He had met at *Banda* the five Ships *Furtado* found at *Sunda*, and here gave him some important Intelligence, showing how much he would find the Seas, in his Way to the *Moluccos*, infested by those Northern Sailors. The Commander in Chief of the Dutch made very much of *Francis de Sousa*, dismissing him with Arms and Provisions for his Voyage, but at the Price of 500 Crowns, paid for him and his Companions, by some Heathen Towns in the Island; to whom *Furtado*, without any Delay, made good the whole Sum. The Dutch General writ very civilly to *Furtado*, desiring he would use his Men well, as he would do by the Spaniards he met with. *Furtado* return'd an Answer, no less Courteous, and sent him a Dutch Youth, who had been Prisoner at *Ternate*.

Having reduc'd these Islands, *Furtado* appointed a Day for the Governors of them to come and swear Fealty to our King, that he might save Time, and follow the Course of his Victories. They came with much State, and Submission; and to secure their future Behaviour, and their new promis'd Fidelity, deliver'd to the General a considerable Number of Youths, being the Sons of the Prime Men, as Hostages. Peace, and the general Pardon, were celebrated with Rejoycings. The Preaching of the Gospel was again exercis'd with entire Liberty, and many Idolaters, and Mahometans were converted. Other Provinces came to acknowledge the Conqueror; without expecting the Chance of War. *Furtado* at *Amboyna* prepar'd for the Expedition against the *Moluccos*.

Those who fled to *Ternate*, gave an Account of the Loss of the King of Towns and Forts that King had been possess'd of at *Amboyna*; and Ternates that the General *Furtado* openly declar'd he was making Preparations against those Islands, and grew stronger upon his Success. The King slighted not this Intelligence, but immediately strengthened his Fleet, and his Forts, and call'd in the *Javanese* and *Mindanaos*, to be in

readiness upon any Attack. Amidst the Noise of War, and his Treaties with the *Dutch* for maintaining of it, he found Leisure to seek his Satisfaction; concluding a Match with his Queen *Cellicaya*, who follow'd him in all his Troubles, even when he last fled from his Kingdom. She was very Young, and so Beautiful, that all the *Indian* Kings courted her for their Wife, and sent to demand her of the *Sangiack* of *Motiel*, her Father; who gave her to him of *Ternate*, as the greatest, most potent, and respected.

His Marriage.

Queen Cellicaya's great Beauty.

The Time for the Nuptials being come, when the Bride was brought to *Ternate*, attended by her Father, Kindred, Brothers-in-law, and many Troops of arm'd Men, she was receiv'd with the Noise of Cannon, Musick, and other Instruments us'd in their Festivals and Solemnities. These lasted many Days, with Profusion; but the most pleasing Object, was the Presence of *Cellicaya*, her extraordinary Grace, which drew the Eyes, and Affections of all Men, temper'd with a Sort of Affability, which encourag'd all that convers'd with her. This Quality very often gave Occasion to suspect her Husband's Reputation, and were not this History confined to such Things as really relate to the Conquest, it might afford us a large Field to treat of the Gentleness of her Disposition, her Love Intrigues, and uncontrollable Power over the Affections, even of those who were most wrong'd; which are spoken of at large in several Discourses and Relations.

Furtado sends for Succours to the Philippine Islands.

The Exigencies of the Time, and necessity oblig'd the General *Furtado* to press for the Succours, which were providing for him in the *Philippine* Islands. *Ambony* is 200 Leagues from the nearest of them, and that 200 more from *Manila*, he sent thither *F. Andrew Pereyra*, a Jesuit, and Captain *Antony Brito Fogaza*, in May 1602. They arriv'd at *Cebu* on the 25th of *July*, sail'd thence for *Manila* on the 6th of *August*, and came to that City on the 5th of *September*. *Don Pedro de Acunna* was well pleas'd to see them, asking particularly concerning all the Proceedings of the General *Furtado*, wherein he was very curious, or rather generously emulous, and he having in his Letters referr'd himself to their Relation, they gave it him at large, and perform'd the Duty of their Embassy, each according to his Profession. *Don Pedro* did not delay their Business; but call'd a Council of War, wherein it was resolv'd, that the Succours he desir'd should be sent *Furtado*, tho' they were forc'd to comply with the Difficulties the Country then labour'd under. Upon this Determination he sent away to the Provinces of the *Pintados*, ordering Capt. *John Xuares Gallinato*, who commanded there, to furnish all Things necessary for the Enterprize; and that he, with the best disciplin'd Infantry, should leave *Cebu*, and repair to the Town of *Arevalo*, the place appointed for the Fleet to rendezvouz. *Gallinato* did so, and sent a Ship to *Oton*, to take in as much as it could of the Succours. It arriv'd at *Oton* on the 28th of *October*; and that same Day *Don Pedro* set out from *Manila* for the *Pintados*, in Order to hasten the fitting out of the Fleet by his Presence, tho' it was then almost ready at *Oton*, where he arriv'd on the 13th of *November*, and he was of such a mettled Temper, that never regarding the Expeditions of *Xolo* and *Mindanao*, or that the Natives of those Islands were spread about in Troops among those of the *Pintados*, robbing and murdering his Majesty's Subjects, he gather'd the Supplies, and deliver'd them to *John Xuares Gallinato*,

Succours sent from the Philippines to Furtado.

Gallinato, appointing him General, and Commander in Chief for this Expedition.

As soon as the General *Furtado* had sent away for Succours to *Manila*, after chastising and garrisoning of *Veranula* and *Amboyna*, he set sail for the *Molucco* Islands, with five Galeons, four Galliot, and 12 *Carcoas*, carrying his Victorious Men; but in those Seas Disasters are so frequent, that neither the Joy of their late Successes, nor the Refreshment receiv'd after their Victories, appear'd in their Countenances. He arriv'd at *Ternate* with this Fleet, on the 10th of *August*; but he only look'd on that Island, and proceeded to *Tydore*: There he view'd the Fort, encourag'd the Soldiers in it, and made use of that King's Person and Interest, as Prudence directed; for that Prince, tho' he labours by Words to convince us of his Friendship and Fidelity, does not confirm it by his Actions; but rather leaves us dubious, when he most endeavours to perswade.

Furtado sails by Ternate to Tydore.

Furtado left the Galeons at *Tydore*, and with the other Vessels that row'd, went six Leagues thence, to the Island of *Machian*, then Subject to the King of *Ternate*, but so weary of that Vassalage, that as soon as our Fleet appear'd, the Governours flock'd down to the Port, attended by the Natives, with their Wives and Children, and such Gifts as came next to Hand, as also some Colours, which they laid at *Furtado's* Feet, submitting themselves, and delivering up their Country. The Men landed in peaceable Manner, amidst the usual Noise of Bagpipes and Basons; and the *Portugueses* having in vain sought after some *Dutch* Men, who chose rather to secure themselves by Flight, than to trust to the General's good Nature, were inform'd that they were gone over to *Ternate*. A view having been taken of the Island, *Furtado* erected a Fort with all possible Expedition, in the most convenient Place. When finish'd according to the Rules of Fortification, he put into it a Captain with 50 Men, whom he left well arm'd and provided, and with them a light Vessel, call'd a *Galizabra*. Then he return'd himself, with the Rest of the Fleet, to *Tydore*, where he joyn'd all his Ships, repair'd them, and set out for *Ternate* to the Port of *Talangame*, where he anchor'd, and lay from the End of *October* to the middle of *February*, when the Succours from *Manila* came.

Machian Island submits to Furtado.

Dutch fly to Ternate.

Some accuse him of lying still very long without attempting any thing; saying, he let slip the Opportunities, without cutting off the Enemies Provisions, or ravaging their Country, when he might have subdu'd them by that Means alone, without firing a Shot. However, when we have before us the Actions of such great Commanders, it is safer to judge they had some sufficient unknown Reason for what they did, than to attribute it to their Fault. Most certain it is, That being inform'd of a Fleet of the Enemies of 22 *Carcoas*, which was not far from the Island *Machian*, he lost no Time, but putting 172 *Portugueses*, of the chosen Men of his Fleet, into 18 *Carcoas*, under an able Commander, he sent them to find out the Infidels. But tho' the Soldiers were so haughty, that every one undertook to fight six *Carcoas*, yet every Officer was for commanding all the Rest, and thus Want of Discipline snatch'd the Victory out of their Hands. The Enemy pass'd by, and they look'd on, without firing a Gun. The *Barbarian* Fleet, observing their Disorder, stood about nimbly, and pouring in a Volley

Furtado accus'd.

Portugueses baffled through their Pride.

Volley upon the *Portugueses*, took a *Carcoa*, with fourteen Men in it, whom they slew, in Sight of their Companions, and it was good Fortune that they did not follow their Stroke. This occasion'd the General's erecting the Fort at *Machian*; whilst the King of *Ternate* strengthen'd his, with the Assistance of 20 *Hollanders*, making good Use of the Leisure of eight Months given him by *Furtado*. He then cast up Works, and provided Engines, as he did afterwards in the Sight of our Camp.

The Succours sent by Don Pedro de Acunna.

When the Fleet was all assembled at the *Philippine* Islands, the Ammunition and Provisions were deliver'd to *Gallinato*, by the Judges and King's Attorney of the Sovereign Court, being 1000 Bushels of clean Rice, 300 Bullocks for Flesh; 200 Jars of Wine; 80 Quintals, or hundred Weight of Nails, Hooks, Hinges, and other Iron Work; 40 of Powder; 300 *Ilocos* Blankets; 700 Yards of *Spanish* Woollen Cloth; 100 Needles for Sails; 30 Jars of Oil; and for the Complement of Men, 200 Soldiers, 165 of them heavy Harquebusiers, and the other, 35 light Musquetiers; 22 Seamen; some Pilots; one Master; three Gunners of *S. Potenciana*, and 20 Grumets. The whole Expence hereof amounting to 22260 Pieces of Eight a Month. The Governour and Sovereign Court having done thus much, they requir'd *F. Andrew Pereyra*, and Captain *Brito*, to go with that Supply, which was then in readiness, under *Gallinato*, with the Colours, and Captains *Christopher Villagra*, and *John Fernandes de Torres*. The Company belonging to Captain *Don Thomas Bravo*, the Governour's Nephew, and Son to his Brother *Don Garcia*, staid behind, but the Captain went himself, and serv'd honourably in the Expedition. The Foot embark'd on the Ship *S. Potenciana*, and the Frigats *S. Antony*, *S. Sebastian*, *S. Bonaventure*, and *S. Francis*. They set sail from the Port of *Noilo*, on the 20th of *January*, 1603, and arriv'd at that of *Caldera*, in *Mindanao*, on the 25th; where receiving some Intelligence of the Enemy, they continu'd till the 28th. Then they saild towards the *Moluccos*, and on the 7th of *February* descry'd the Island of *Siao*, and the next Morning, by Break of Day, that of *Toalan*, four Leagues from it. There the Frigate *S. Antony* was cast away, on a Shoal of that Island, which compos'd all the Squadron. *Gallinato* took Care to save the Men. He sent Captain *Villagra*, who brought them off, with the Arms and Guns; the rest was swallowed by the Sea.

S. Antony Frigate cast away.

Gallinato from Manila joins Furtado.

They held on their Voyage, and on the 13th of *February* discover'd the Island of *Ternate*. On the 14th they arriv'd at *Tydore*, where they were inform'd of the coming of *Andrew Furtado*; and therefore stay'd but a short Time to refresh themselves, being earnest to joyu him. Setting forward with a fair Wind, they came to *Ternate*, and enter'd the Port of *Talangame*, a League from the Fort, on the 16th of the aforesaid Month. The Fleets saluted one another in friendly Manner, and the Generals did the like, giving one another an Account of their Strength, Transactions, and all other Particulars till that Time. The Discourse falling out of one Thing into another, came to contesting; for *Gallinato* affirm'd, That the Enemies Provisions ought to have been cut off, by ordering our *Carcoas* to sail round the Island, which was in great Want of them, and could be reliev'd by the Opportunity he had given. *Furtado* alledg'd other Reasons to defend himself. It was thought convenient before they landed, to take

a View of the Enemies Fort, to which Purpose, the Captains, *Christopher Villagra*, and *Gonzalo Sequeyra* were appointed to make up to it in a *Car-coa*, with a white Flag, as it were to speak with the King, and propose Peace and Conditions.

Those two Officers drew near, the Enemy met them, and understanding what they came about, sent to acquaint the King. He answer'd he could not give them Audience that Day, but they might return the next. They returning accordingly, the Inhabitants of the City came out to meet them, and among them *Cachil Sugui*, *Cachil Gogo*, and *Cachil Quipate*, the King's Uncles, who went back to tell him, that those Captains were come by his Highness's Command. This Message was brought him at Nine a Clock in the Morning, and tho' he was close by the City, the Answer came not till four in the Afternoon, and was, That unless *Furtado*, or *Gallinato* came, he would not speak with any other; but that the Captains that were come might treat with his Officers, and he would stand by, and ratify what they should conclude. The *Spaniards* having receiv'd this Answer, and their Design being to view the Fort, Captain *Villagra* set his Resolution, and pretending some Occasion, went into the Thicket, whence he observ'd all that could be seen on that Side, more nicely than could have been expected in so short a Time. They return'd to the Fleet, and gave the General an Account of all they knew.

Two Cap-
tains sent
to the Ci-
ty of Ter-
nate.

Villagra
views the
Fort.

In fine, they landed, and then again *Gallinato* intreated *Furtado*, to send out the light Vessels a cruising, to cut off the Enemies Supplies; and those which went out upon his Request, sped so well, that they met a plentiful and strong Reinforcement of Men and Provisions, in two *Funks* and a large *Chiampan*, which they took, killing and taking the Men, who were Numerous and well arm'd. They continu'd to round the Island, encourag'd by this first Success, and by that Means cut off all Succours. The Enemy began to want, sicken and dye. They fed on Herbs, and other slight Dyets; and many, but particularly Women, not being able to endure Hunger, fled confidently, tho' compell'd by Necessity, to our Camp; and the rest would have done the same if they could.

The Forces
land.

Famine at
Ternate.

On the 27th of *February*, *Furtado* took a Review of his Men on the Enemies Shore, where our Ships were at Anchor. *Gallinato* said, he was much troubled to see it, because in his Opinion, they were not fit even to make that Show, most of them being Boys, sick of the Dislemper they call *Berber*, unskillful at their Fire-arms, and very few of them had Muskets, but only little Fowling-Pieces; so that all seem'd to forebode ill Success. The whole Number of them was 420 Soldiers, divided into four Companies. The next Day, the *Spanish* Infantry of the *Philippine* Islands pass'd Muster, in the same Place, before *Furtado* and his Officers. *Don Thomas* led them in Armour, and with a Pike in his Hand, with all the Musquetiers in the Van. After him the other Companies in Order, according to Seniority. They all form'd three Bodies, being Men of Experience, well equipp'd, orderly, and of such Valour as soon after appear'd.

Christians
review'd.

A Council was held, about landing, on the first of *March*, where the General declar'd by Word of Mouth, saying he never did it in Writing, That he had lain so long, almost idle, wholly depending on the Succour that was come, and that since *Don Pedro de Acunna* had sent it so com-

Consult
about
landing.

pleat,

Gallinato
against it.

He begs to
lead the
Van and
obtains it.

They move
towards
the Enemy.

Zacatal
what it is.

pleat, it was not reasonable to lose Time. *Gallinato* answer'd, representing the Greatness of the Enterprize, and that they had provided no Necessaries to begin the Work, hinting at some Home Particulars, which were signify'd to him by the *Portuguese* Commanders. The Votes being taken, it was finally resolv'd to land, because all Things were in readiness; perhaps they conceited that the Enemies Power was imaginary, and that they would submit at the Sight of our Army. *Gallinato* was always of the contrary Opinion; because that Weakness he was an Eye-witness to, could not deceive him; and therefore that nothing might be wanting on his Part, tho' he was under Command, but much respected, he writ a Role of the Things necessary for the Design in Hand, setting down in it even the Hand-Spikes for moving of the Artillery, which had not been provided in all that Time. By which may be seen, said *Gallinato*, how great a Defect there had been in the Rest. When the Council broke up, *Furtado* told *Gallinato*, he had order'd, that as soon as they landed, 200 *Portugueses* should mount the Guard, with one Company of *Spaniards*. *Gallinato* begg'd he would give him leave to lead the Van, saying, he would not go as Chief, but only as a Soldier, as being proud of serving under him. This he requested very earnestly; but *Furtado*, who knew how to value such Requests, answer'd, That if he went he must accept of his Company. *Gallinato* reply'd, That he should take the Post due to his Person, since it was of such Consequence, and do him the Favour to grant him the Van. He would not grant it at that Time, but the next Day, he and his Admiral spoke to him, saying, He assign'd him the Van, by the Advice of his Admiral, and therefore desired he would be content it might consist of the Number of Men he had appointed. *Gallinato* accepted the Command, and valu'd it as was due. They landed on the 3d of *March*, and as they were drawing up, *Furtado* would needs place two of his Colours, and one of the *Spanish* in the Van, with 300 Men; the other three in the Rear; and the Royal Standard, and himself to be in the main Body; *Gallinato* was of Opinion, that all the Colours should march with the main Body, but the General follow'd his own Way.

In this Order they began to move towards the Enemy, Captain *Don Thomas* marching by *Gallinato*, who afterwards, in a Letter to *Don Pedro*, said, *He this Day, and upon other Occasions, gave good Proof, that he was the Son of such a Father, and these grey Hairs of mine were sufficiently honour'd with the Assistance of such a Hand, and I was well defended and secure.* The Enemy being above 700, kept in a strong and safe Post, the Shore on which our Men march'd, being little or nothing, by Reason it was High-Water, and that on the Land Side there was a very high Bank, and above it a rising and close *Zacatal*, which could not be broke through. *Zacatal* is a Field overgrown with such deep Grass or Weeds, that many Men, and much Cattle may be hid among them. These are much thicker than the Fields of Sedge, or Sheer-Grass in *Spain*. They call it *Zacatal*, from the Word *Zacate*, signifying that Sort of Grass or Weed, which grows up almost as thick as a Reed. Along this narrow Slip of Shore, which was full of Rocks, and uneven, only three Men could march abreast, he that was next the Sea, being partly in the Water. The Enemy was possess'd of this close Pass, and a great Tree cut down for that Purpose,

pose, and lying across the Place, serv'd them instead of a Trench. Behind it, and upon the Bank, between it, and the *Zacatal*, appear'd all their Men, with Muskets, Fire-Locks, *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, *Bacacacs*, or burnt Staves, Darts, Hand Granadoes, and Stones which did not do us the least Harm. They had also five Drakes in this Post, wherewith, upon some short Attacks, they kill'd five *Spaniards*; and afterwards, as the Action grew hotter, wounded ten *Portugueses*, in such Sort that they dy'd in a few Days. *Gallinato* owns he was this Day in Danger of losing his Honour; because the Colours, and all the Rest was in the utmost Peril.

Posture of the Ternates.

The Enemy fought in Safety, and did our Men so much Harm, that the first Charge *Gallinato* gave, the *Ternates* fell on so furiously, as to drive us from the Ground we had gain'd. *Gallinato* look'd behind him to see the Colours he had brought with him in the Van, with the 300 Men, and found them at his Back very thinly Guarded. Thus the second Time the Shout was given to fall on, and he again oblig'd to retire, because he had fewer Men every time, and the last they were scarce twenty. At length shaming those that lagg'd, and as it were inspiring new Vigour into them, he fell on so fiercely, that he gain'd the Post, and the five Drakes. The *Ternates* lost all, or most of their best Men. *Gallinato* follow'd the Chace till he discover'd the Fort, then he halted, and order'd our Camp to be Intrenched. The work was begun, and the Enemy obstructed it twice, sending out Parties to prevent planting the Gabions, and divert the Workmen; but they retir'd both times with loss. When the Trench was finished, *Gallinato* sent to the General to come to it. He came and took up his Quarters, with all his Men, bringing the Royal Standard, and all the Colours.

Gallinato repulsed.

Gains the Pass.

Spaniards Intrench.

The next Day he judg'd it convenient to carry the Lodgment forward. *Gallinato* undertook it, and with his Men finish'd the Trench, within 200 Paces of the Enemies Fort. There they continu'd some Days; and it being *Gallinato's* Part only to obey, he sometimes gave his Opinion, and always did what he was commanded. He did so, when the General told them it would be convenient to carry on a Trench farther, to plant the Cannon. On the Ninth of the same Month, before the Fort had been well view'd, he went to open the Trench, with his own Men, and 100 *Portugueses*, a little above 100 Paces from the Walls, which being so near they all soon perceiv'd the danger of the Undertaking. It was the worse for the Confusion and Noise in filling the Gabions. The next Day the Cannon was brought thither, being four Guns, two thirteen, and two sixteen Pounders. These sixteen Pounders, which the *Portuguese* Soldiers call Camels, are short Pieces, unfit for Battery; besides that the Bullets were made of Stone, and broke as soon as they touch'd the Wall; being only fit to fire at the Houses. *Gallinato* seeing this, told the General that since before they landed he said, he had Cannon, he should order it to be brought on, and planted in Battery, now he saw how ineffectual that they had prov'd. He answer'd, that there was all he had, having left the best in some Places he recover'd the foregoing Year; and could not bring any more such, by Reason of the stormy Weather.

Trenches carry'd on nearer to the Fort.

Stone Bullets unfit for Battery.

This being mounted, the Battery began; but being so improper for this Purpose, it was canonading the Air; for the Enemy overlook'd, and was strengthen'd by a Stone Cavalier, which is that of Our Lady, next the Sea.

The Enemies Strength.

Sea. Under it was a Ravelin, with seven heavy Pieces of Cannon which did, and threatned greater Harm to our Camp. The *Cavalier* was all Rampard, four Fathom high, and a Fathom and a half broad; all which had been perform'd, and rais'd with Espauls, by the Contrivance of the *Dutch*, who forwarded it, ever since they traded with that Tyrant. On the Land Side ran the Curtin of the Wall, as far as the Stone Bull-wark, call'd *Cachil Tulo*, fortify'd outwards with Massy Timbers, on which there were three large Guns, and two on the Wall from this Bull-wark to that of our Lady. All these Works look'd towards that Part, where our Men had taken up their Quarters. These Forts had also a great Number of Falconets, and Drakes; and the *Cavalier* that was batter'd being the strongest Part, where there was more Noise than Effect, the General order'd the Battery to cease.

They Sally. On Sunday the sixteenth, between four and five in the Evening, the Enemy sally'd out of their Fort, with most of their Men to attack, and gain the Trench, where our Cannon was planted. They assaulted it in three Places, dividing their Men, next the Mountain in Front, and towards the Shore. From the Mountainward came above 800 *Ternates*, with *Campilanes*, or Cymiters, in the Van of them almost as many *Javaneses*, with Pikes 25 Spans long, all in close Order. The Leader of them was a gallant Youth, call'd *Cachil Amuxa*, the King's Cousin German, and Son to *Cachil Tulo*. Four hundred attack'd in Front, and many more next the Sea, each Body under its own Commander; who all fell on together with such Vigour, that had not they who defended it been in great Readiness, the Enemy could not miss of being Master of it. The Captains *Pinto* and *Villagra* commanded in it, who defended it bravely, but *Emanuel Andres*, Sergeant to *Villagra*, *Alonso Roldan*, a Corporal, and another *Portuguese*, who behav'd himself gallantly, dy'd fighting, being all run through with Pikes. The Advantage soon appear'd on the *Spanish* Side, which the Enemy perceiv'g, they turn'd their Backs, leaving the Commanders their King had the greatest Value for, dead in the Field, and retired to the Fort. This Success gave Occasion to draw another Trench nearer the Fort, to batter the Ravelin, whence they did us Harm, with seven Pieces, notwithstanding our Work, which was carry'd on by the Captains *Villagra*, and *Sebastian Suarez*. On *Thursday* the Trench was almost finish'd, and being near, made them so uneasy, that the Besieged began to batter it, with all their Cannon, but ineffectually, because the *Gabions*, and Rampart on the Inside, could bear much more. However, by this they perceiv'd the Power and Strength of the Enemy, and the Difficulty of the Undertaking.

*He is De-
feated.*

*Council of
War held.* On the twenty first of *March* the General came to the Trench, and calling together the Captains, *Gallinato*, *Villagra*, *Antony Andrea*, *John Fernandez de Torres*, *Gonzalo de Sequeyra*, *Sebastian Suarez de Albergueria*, *Stephen Texeira*, *Gaspar Pacheco*, the Admiral *Thomas de Sousa Ronches*, *Lewis de Melo Sampayo*, *Jacome de Morales*, *Don Lope de Almeida*, *Ruy Gonzalez*, *Trajan Rodriguez Castelbranco*, *Antony de Brito Fegaza*, *John Pinto de Moraes*, and *Don Thomas Bravo*, and taking out a Missal, in the first Place desir'd them to take an Oath upon the holy Evangelists, that they would not speak of, nor any otherwise reveal, what he should there

there propose to them, and what should be resolv'd upon it, till effected. They all swore, and then he propos'd the Matter thus.

I have call'd you together, Gentlemen, to acquaint you with the Condition I am in at Present, and this Siege has brought me to. It is two Years since I came from Goa, and during my Voyage, have spent a great Quantity of Ammunition, upon several Occasions; so that when we landed the other Day we had only ten Pipes of Powder, and 29 Barrels sent me from Manila. Since I landed, so much has been consum'd, as is visible, in Skirmishes, and Battery, that I have now much less than half that Quantity. The Dead, Wounded and Sick, of our Foot, now wanting in the Camp, are 130; and the rest, as daily Experience shows, fall Sick very fast of the Distemper call'd Berber. Our Provisions, tho' we took the Rice the Frigates brought from Manila, are so short, that they can not last beyond the beginning of June. The Ships and other Vessels of the Fleet, in the Opinion of the Pilots, run a great Hazard, where they now lie at Anchor; because, when this Moon is out, there can be no Safety for it, by reason of the high Winds and Storms, unless they remove to another Place, and there is no other but Tydore. We see how resolute, and well fortify'd the Enemy is, since all our Battery has produc'd so little Effect, and if they receive any Damage, it is soon made up by the Multitude of People. The Friendship the King of Tydore promis'd for advancing of his Majesty's Service, has prov'd so false, that he has perform'd nothing of what was concerted with him, tho' so reasonable, and beneficial to himself; having only been free in Words, but his Actions have not yet been seen. I have had sufficient Tryal of him. He has no other Design, but to deceive, and amuse us, that our Men may be destroy'd by Degrees, and so Time may consume us if the Enemy cannot. When I press'd him to do something, to show at this Time that he was a Friend, and his Majesty's Subject, he answer'd, he would; but that we must furnish Provisions for all his Men, because he had none. They demand Powder and Ball, for every trivial Undertaking, that so they may consume the little we have left; and when there is any Work to be done, there are no Men for it. Of the few Amboyneses I brought with me, for this Purpose, their Labour being great, some are return'd home, others gone to the Enemy. Those that remain are not sufficient, and most of what has been hitherto done is owing to the Infantry; which is so harass'd, that it can do no Service. The Enemy expects Dutch Ships, and knows they are now at Banda. I have Intelligence that they have sent for them, and if they come they will be a great Obstacle to our Designs. Considering what I have discours'd of, I desire you, Gentlemen, and every one of you, still under the Obligation of the Oath, to give me your Opinions, that according to them I may resolve what to do, in pursuance of the great Duty incumbent on me.

Upon the Request of the Captains, the General Furtado gave in these Proposals in writing, tho' he oppos'd it at first. In short they were written, as were the Opinions of the Councillors, among whom the greater Part, even of the Portuguese oppos'd the General; and tho' I ought to give some Account of their Votes, because they had all different Views, yet, in Regard that most of them assented to Gallinato's Opinion, it will suffice to set down his Answer.

John Xuarez Gallinato, Commander of the Provinces of the Pintados, and

Gallinato's
Answer to
Furtado. the Officers attending me, do answer to the Proposal made by your Lordship, as follows. That as to the want of Powder you represent, we look upon it as essential, since we can not fight without it, and if that fails, our Cannon and small Fire-Arms, are rather Encumbrances, than Weapon, and therefore it is requisite to resolve and agree, where and when to employ, and how much of what we have may be spent, so as our Enterprize may succeed, since we see how ineffectual that hitherto spent has been; considering, at the same Time, that a great Quantity is to be reserv'd, to fight five Dutch Galeons we expect; which, if they come, part of our Fleet must of necessity go out and engage. For, if this be not done they will put Succours into the Place, which tho' never so inconsiderable, as but of 100 Muskets, would be very prejudicial to us; besides that, it will be a great Disreputation, not to meet them out at Sea.

As to the Mens sickning, being kill'd and wounded, we say, those are Misfortunes always attending War; and that we are sensible how fast the Army grows weak, for which Reason, it will be necessary to be the more expeditious in the Work we have in Hand; yet so that neither too much Precipitation may expose it to Hazards, nor Delay give Time for all the Army to fall Sick. As for the Scarcity of Provisions, our Opinion is, that an Account be taken of what we have, how much is consum'd in a Month, and thus the necessary Distribution may be made in Time; for otherwise we shall fall short, when we least expect it; and Hunger will do us more Harm than the Enemy.

To the Danger of the Ships threatned by the Pilots, and their Advice to go over to Tydore, we answer. That if the Fleet quits the Station where it is, it will be a manifest Detriment to the Army, which is supply'd from it with all it Wants, and must want every Thing upon its Absence. Besides, that if the Enemy see it once gone, they will take fresh Courage; and if the Dutch come and find the Harbour empty, it is plain they will possess themselves of it. Again, if the Fleet makes off, must not a considerable Number of the Soldiers go for its Security? Now how can it be proper to divide our Forces; especially considering they are so small, and the Men so sickly? Besides that here is no Place to lay up the Provisions, for the Waters destroy them by Day and Night. Whilst aboard the Fleet, the Soldiers have it daily brought fresh and wholesome. Farther, the Pilots, and Natives of Tydore, say the Ships are safe in the Harbour till after the Middle of April.

We have had Tryal of the Enemies Power, and believe they have Men, Ammunition, and Cannon to spare, considering our Condition; and the Commanders, and Deserters from them confirm it. But neither can it be deny'd, that the very first Day we engag'd as we have been told by Prisoners, and wounded Men, 1000 of the best Men they had in Ternate came out to stop our Passage with five Pieces of Cannon, and so posted, that only two of our Men could come up a Breast to charge them; and yet they with all these Odds, were beaten off with the Loss of many Men, as appear'd by the dead Bodies, scatter'd along the Shore, where they also lost their Artillery. The same Day we saw them sally upon the Fort of Santiago, where Captain Villagra commanded, and tho' our Men were surpris'd, yet they repuls'd them and slew the Flower of their Commanders; so that they were certainly

ly much weakned; and streightned by Hunger and Sicknefs. And tho' with the Help of the Dutch, and their own Hardinefs they repair the Breaches, and fortify themselves with Artillery, Means may be found to surmount these Difficulties, for if there were none, it would be no War we are engag'd in.

We are sensible of the King of Tydore's Want of Faith; but what discreet Commander has not made the best of such Accidents, and wink'd at disloyal, and unsteady Persons till a more favourable Opportunity; Besides, before we landed, Notice was taken of this Princes Indifferency, and that his Design is to protract the War, rather in Hatred to Ternate, than out of any Love to our Nation. We our selves will make amends for the Want of Labourers; we will be both Soldiers and Pioniers, as we have hitherto been; for the Sword and the Spade are equally honourable in so just a War; and we again offer our selves, and our Soldiers, to perform whatsoever shall be for the Service of God and the King.

It is therefore our Opinion, that the Galeons remove immediately; that two of them Anchor between our Ladies Cavalier, and S. Paul, and batter the inside of the Cavalier, and the other two, the House of S. Paul, the Fort, and the Town. Then of Necessity the Defendants within must fly, since the Defence of the Stone Parapet, is but a meer Show, except only where it looks upon the open Country. As soon as the Galeons begin to batter, we will also batter the Ravelin before the Cavalier, where the seven Pieces of Cannon are, which will certainly be ruin'd in two Hours, because our Fort of S. Christopher commands them, and the Thicknefs is not above a Fathom. To conclude, My Lord, the Want of Provisions, and of Health, the coming of the Dutch, the Resolution of the Besieged, of all other Difficulties will be surmounted by Celerity. We are ready to perform all Things on our Part; it belongs to your Lordship to make Tryal of our Promise. It will not be reasonable immediately to abandon the small Remains of Christianity in the Moluccos, and the Hopes of regaining what has been lost; in vain endeavour'd for so many Years, at the Expence of so many Millions of Money, so many Lives, and the Honour of European Nations, by turning our Backs upon so holy an Undertaking.

This Answer was sent in a Paper signed by the Captains, to satisfy all his Doubts, for they answer'd others by Word of Mouth, which were started by the Portuguese Commanders to perswade drawing off; but the General Thanking both Parties for their Zeal in Advising, broke up the Council; and on Saturday the 22d, came to a Resolution, which he left to be put in Execution the next Day. That Night he drew off the Cannon; and on Sunday Night, at the second Watch, the Forces began to March towards the Shore, where the Ships lay to take in the Men. The Admiral, Thomas de Sousa, led the Van; the General and his Officers, the Main Body; and John Xuares Gallinato, with the Captains Don Thomas Bravo, John Fernandez de Torres, and Christopher Villagra, and the Musketers, brought up the Rear. In this Order the Foot were Shipp'd off, and got all aboard by the Morning. At the same time two Dutch Men, of those that were in the Fort with the Enemy, fled from it, and came to the Ships. Among other Intelligence, they told the Spaniards how strong the Enemy were in Men and Cannon: That they had 36 heavy Pieces mounted

Furtado
dissolves
the Coun-
cil, and acts
counter to
it.

The Forces
Shipp'd off.

mounted on the Ravelin near our Ladies; seven on *Cachil Tulo's* Bastion; three between them; and two on the *Cavalier*; three at *S. Paul's*; eight in the Main Fort; three at *Limatao*; three more on that Bastion, and four more near it.

This Day *Furtado* propos'd to sail away with the Fleet towards *Amboyna*, but wanting Water, put it off for four Days, and during that time *Gallinato* had leisure to Discourse him, since he was going away, about providing the Fort of *Tydore*, which could not be Maintain'd without Supplies. He Answer'd, He was very willing to do it, but could not; and therefore would send Succours from *Amboyna*. Application was made to him to provide for other Wants, which concern'd his Majesties Service, to which he return'd the same Answer. He press'd him to consider, in what Condition he left the Fort of *Machian*, whereto particular Regard ought to be had, because there were 50 Men and a Captain, with the small Vessel, call'd a *Galizabra*, and he must either Relieve, or Dismantle it. He said, He had already sent to Destroy it, and did believe it was then Raz'd.

Furtado
refuses to
supply Ty-
dore, and
other Pla-
ces.

Machian
Fort raz'd.

Having taken this Order, and Leave of the Commanders, he set sail on Thursday the 27th of March, sending a Letter to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, the Governour of the *Philippine* Islands, with an Account of the Particulars of this Enterprize: A small Part of it will suffice to express the Thoughts and Intention of so Discreet a Commander as he has been prov'd by his former and later Actions; for it is not to be believ'd that he would quit the Attempt upon *Ternate*, without substantial Reasons: *The Succours your Lordship sent me*, says he, *by Gods Assistance, came in good Time; for it was Providence that furnished his Majesty with this Fleet, and sav'd the Lives of those who still enjoy them. By what has happen'd in this Expedition, his Majesty will understand how much he is beholding to your Lordship, and how little to the Commander of Malaca; since it is his Fault, that his Majesty was not serv'd. When the Succours your Lordship sent me arriv'd, this Fleet had no Ammunition, as having been two Years out from Goa, and having spent it as Occasion offer'd. Wherefore, that it might not be thought I Obstructed his Majesties Service, I landed; and did it with the Loss of many of the Enemies. I carry'd up my last Trenches within 100 Paces of the Enemies Works, planted five heavy Battering-Pieces; and in ten Days Battery a great part of a Rastion, wherein the Enemies main Strength consisted, was ruin'd. During that Time all the Powder the Fleet had was spent, without leaving enough for one Charge of the Guns, and if it should happen, as I do not question it will, that I meet any Squadron of Dutch, I must of Necessity fight them, this being my principal Motive for raising of the Siege, when the Enemy was reduc'd to great Streights, both by Want, and for that many of their best Commanders had been kill'd during the Siege. By this your Lordship may guess at the Condition I am in. This Letter dilates upon the Complaints against the Governours of India. He promises *Don Pedro*, that if he meets with any Succours at *Amboyna*, and is not oblig'd to go relieve the southern Parts, he will return to the *Moluccos*, tho' he be forc'd to go refit as far as *Malaca*. He praises and recommends the Captains *Gallinato*, *Don Thomas*, *Villogra*, and their fellow Soldiers, and so concludes the Letter.*

Part of
Furtado's
Letter to
the Gover-
nor of the
Philip-
pines.

Gallinato went to *Tydore*, where he was inform'd, that tho' the Fort of *Machian*

Machian was abandon'd, only one Bastian of it was disannul'd; so that if the Enemy would possess themselves of it, they might do it with Ease, and were actually about it. Hereupon he spoke to the King of *Tydore*, and the Portuguese Commander in Chief, recommending to them, that they would either take Care to maintain, or else quite raze that Fort. They commission'd a Captain to do the latter, who going to perform it, loaded the Vessel, call'd *Galizabra* with 200 Quintals, or a hundred Weight of Clove, and return'd to *Tydore*, to the great Satisfaction of the Portuguese of that Island. At this Time the King of *Ternate* was repairing the Breaches in his Fortifications, and rais'd new Defences, providing against Dangers he knew Nothing of yet. His Subjects are Warlike, with whom, and the Assistance of the Dutch, he thought his Kingdom invincible. Great Matters might have been expected could any Confidence be repos'd in the King of *Tydore*; but our Commanders say his People, and those of *Ternate* understand one another.

Callinato
at Tydore
takes Care
of Machi-
an.

Falshood of
the King
of Tydore.

On the 17th of *April*, the King of *Tydore* acquainted *Gallinato*, that with his Leave he design'd to make Peace with the King of *Ternate*. He answer'd, He would do well to consider what was expedient for his own Dominions, without Detriment to his Majesty's Service. The same Day the *Sangiack* of *Nua*, in the Kingdom of *Bachian*, came to *Tydore*. He was a Christian, and laying hold of the Opportunity of serving his Majesty in the last Expedition, visited the Queen of *Tydore*, a beautiful young Lady, Daughter to the King of *Bachian*, who liv'd discontented, because the King her Husband was more fond of another ancient Woman, and not so well born. The *Sangiack* had Commission and Strength to steal her away, and conduct her to her Father, since neither Complaints, Intreaties, nor any other Methods had been of Force to reclaim the King. On the 4th of *May*, came a Sister of the King's, on the same Pretence of visiting her Neice, and reconciling her to the King. The *Sangiack* and she having concerted those Affairs, the young Queen going abroad with them to an Entertainment, and all Things being provided, they embark'd, and sail'd away towards *Bachian*. The King of *Tydore* was enrag'd, out of Patience, and apprehensive of a new War; tho' afterwards this Difference was amicably adjust'd, by the Interposition of *Cachil Malua*, a principal Person of *Bachian*.

The King
and Queen
of Tydore
at Vari-
ance.

She is
stolen away.

On the 22d of *May* News was brought to *Tydore*, that the King of *Ternate*, had fitted out 50 Carcoas in his Harbour, and expected the Dutch Ships. He, at the same Time, made Rejoycings, in a triumphant Manner for the Departure of the Spaniards. It was requisite to leave some Men and Provisions in the Fort of *Tydore*, which being done, *Gallinato*, who had before writ by an Advice-Boat, to the General and Governour of the *Philippine* Islands, left the *Moluccos*, and sail'd himself that Way. This was the Event of that so long intended and threatned Undertaking, which I have deliver'd impartially, having search'd after, and even guess'd at some Excuses to justify the Behaviour of so great a Commander as *Andrew Furtado*; enquiring of those very Officers who were present at the Attacks, and in the Councils. Neither by them, nor by the General's own Memorials and Papers, can be found or made out any more than what appears by those which have been here inserted; but to judge of these Affairs is not the Part of an Historian.

Fort of
Tydore
supply'd.

Impartia-
lity of the
Author.

This

Earl of
Lemos
President of
the Council
of the In-
dies

This was
writ when
he was li-
ving.

Member of
the said
Council, at
that Time.

Br. Gaspar
Gomez in-
forms the
Council.

This same Year, about the beginning of *April*, the Presidentship of the Council of the *Indies* was conferr'd on *Don Pedro Fernandez de Castro*, Earl of *Lemos* and *Andrade*, Marquess of *Sarria*, Chief of his Family, whose Royal Antiquity is well known, Nephew and Son-in-law to the Duke of *Lerma*. In his Youth he gave such Hopes, as were afterwards fulfill'd by his Actions. He was then Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber to our King. The World made the same Judgment of him, that the Senate of *Rome* had in his Time of *Scipio*, afterwards call'd *Africanus*, when it made a Scruple of entrusting him with Matters of great Difficulty, because he was so young. But Experience soon made appear in the Earl, as well as in *Scipio*, that Prudence, which regulates all other Virtues, often anticipates grey Hairs. It is no Merit of the Off-spring to be descended from Noble, or Plebeian Families; but such was the Vivacity of this great Man's Spirit, and Judgment, that had he been born Mean, he might by his own natural Parts have made his Fortune. No Man can say he wanted publick or private Accomplishment. In him appears a settled Magnanimity; with a courteous Sincerity; yet temper'd with that Justice we extol in the severe Austerity of some of the Ancients. These Virtues are interwoven with Religion, a Zeal for its Propagation, and the universal Agreement, which is the Product of publick Tranquillity. Thus he serv'd his King, with Care and Solitude; without Intermision, or seeking himself and his Advantage. It will be requisite to be brief in this Particular, because his singular Modesty is not pleas'd with the Soothings of Commendation; but is as averse to Flattery, as remote from standing in need of it.

The Earl found the Council fill'd with zealous and grave Men; the Lords *Benedict Rodriguez Valtodano*, *Peter Bravo de Sotomayor*, *Alonso Molina de Medrano*, Knight of the Order of *Santiago*, or *S. James* the Apostle, *James de Armenteros*, *Gonzalo de Aponte*, *Don Thomas Ximenes Ortis*, *Don Francisco Arias Maldonado*, *Benavente de Benavides*, *John de Villagutierre*, *Lewis de Salcedo*, and *Ferdinand de Villagomez*; all of them qualify'd by Extraction, noted for Learning, and having taken the highest Degrees in it. These were Counsellors, and the last of them Solicitor General of that Assembly. To which also belong'd *John de Ibarra*, Knight of the Order of *Calatrava*, and Commendary of *Moratalaz*, and *Peter de Ledesma*, the King's Secretaries. In the Places of the Licenciates, *Molina de Medrano*, and *Gonzalo de Aponte*, whom his Majesty afterwards employ'd in his Royal Council of *Castile*, and in those of some who dy'd, his Majesty, at several Times put in the Licenciates, *Lewis de Salcedo*, *Gudiel*, and *Don Francis de Texada y de Mendoza*, Doctor *Bernard de Olmedilla*, and *John de Ibarra*, &c. All these amidst that Multitude of Business they dexterously dispatch'd, laid ail their main Designs, for the restoring his Majesty's Monarchy to its Fulness, in those utmost Limits of it; a Project suitable to the Genius of the new President. He enquiring into the general and particular Posture of all Things then depending, met with that of the *Molucco* Islands, and finding it of Consequence, and almost forgotten, inclin'd to give it a helping Hand.

Much about this Time, Brother *Gaspar Gomez* came into *Spain*, being sent by *Don Pedro de Acuna*, to sollicite that Enterprize. The Brother at several tedious Audiences, gave the President full Information of all that concern'd

concern'd the *Molucco* Islands, their Wealth, the great Treasure *Spain* has expended in Attempts to recover them, to restore persecuted Christianity, where it had been so much receiv'd; and what Consequence it was, that this should be done by Way of the *Philippine* Islands. The Earl undertook that Cause, as such ought to be supported, and consulted about it with the Council, with the Duke of *Lerma*, and most particularly with the King's Confessor. He never desisted, till it was brought to bear, and in such a Forwardness, that it might be effectually dispatch'd. The Members of the supream Council, with the same Zeal, and considering the repeated Disappointments of this Enterprize, forwarded the Expedition, and all of them agreed that *Don Pedro de Acunna* should undertake it in Person. This favourable Disposition of theirs, was fully confirm'd, by the News brought a Year after, of the ill Success of the united Forces of *India* under *Furtado*, and those of the *Philippine* Islands, under *Gallinato*. It was writ by *Don Pedro de Acunna*, describing it to the Life, with Duplicates for his Majesty, and the prime Ministers, and though he left much to Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, he was very particular himself.

He complain'd that they had let slip such an Opportunity of Recovering *Ternate*, and chastising the *Dutch*, who resort thither to the Trade of Clove, Mace, and other Spice, and Drugs. He represented the Danger the *Philippine* Islands were in, after that Neighbouring Tyrant's Victory; and that having more particularly weigh'd the Circumstances of that Affair, besides the Necessity of regaining the Reputation lost there, he found that whatsoever has been yet said, was short. For not to mention the principal End, which was the Propagation of the Faith, but only with Regard to the King's Revenue, he show'd, That *Ternate* being reduc'd it would be easie to subdue the Islands of *Banda*, which are above thirty, lying about a hundred Leagues from the *Moluccos*, full of valuable Mace, and possess'd by an unwar-like People, would add that Income to *Spain*, and take it from the *Dutch*, who carry all away, with little or no Opposition. He promis'd the same as to the Islands *Papuas*, which are many, not far distant from *Ternate*, some of them Subjects to that King, and yeilding him a considerable Quantity of Gold, Amber, and other valuable Tribute. Then he extended to the Great *Batochina*, or *Gilolo*, describing its Fertility, and how that Tyrannical King oppress'd it. Those of *Celebes* 45 Leagues from *Ternate*, where he had strong Garrisons. The Greater and Lesser *Javas*, whose Kings would again submit to *Spain*, as soon as the *Moluccos* were brought under. He earnestly recommended Secresie and Expedition. To evince the Necessity of both, besides the usual Reasons, he urg'd that as soon as those Rebels and the *Dutch* hear of any War-like Preparations, they spare neither Cost, nor Labour, to make all necessary Provision; and that they never sail by the Coasts of *India* without ruining, and plundering them. He affirm'd, that the General *Furtado* was no way to blame for having abandon'd that Enterprize; for as it plainly appear'd, and Captain *Gallinato* declar'd he had always behav'd himself like a brave Gentleman, and discreet Commander; but that besides the Want of Provisions and Ammunition, he could not relie upon his own Men; and that if the Succours sent him from *Manila* had been more considerable, he would have hazard-ed all with only them. He said, the King of *Tydore* had sent him great

Don Pedro de Acunna's letter concerning the Enterprize on Ternate.

Complaints against the General *Furtado*, and that it was a common saying with him. That before he came to the *Moluccos* the King of *Tydore* Slept, and he of *Ternate* Watch'd; but now the Case was alter'd, and the contrary might be said. Yet he believ'd he was not heartily sorry for the Disappointment. The same he urg'd in Relation to the Kings of *Bachian* and *Sian*. He concluded, offering to undertake that Affair in Person, provided he might be furnish'd with what was necessary, that he might not be Distress'd as his Predecessors had been. Then he went on, by Way of Answer to the Objections, or Accusations of the *Spanish* Commanders, who being us'd to the Wars in *Europe*, despis'd all other Enemies, who made War without all those Engines, and Fire-Arms us'd in *Flanders*, *France*, and *England*. He says, none of those Eastern Provinces wanted any of the Inventions we have in *Europe*; and that besides the great Numbers they have, and the Dexterity in using them of the *Japoneses*, *Chineses*, *Mindanaos*, and *Moluccos*, they are no less expert at their Bows, and Arrows; especially the *Javaneses*, who conquer when they fly, and that they are not destitute of such Stratagems, that the *Spaniards* have need of all their Valour against them, and their numerous Armies. He owns the *Molucco* Islands can not stand in Competition, with the strong and populous Cities taken in our Parts, but that nevertheless, so many Christian Churches as have been polluted in them; the banishing of our Religion; the Persecution of its Ministers; the continual Tyrannical Practices; and Alliance of those People, with the *Dutch*, his Majesties last Rebels, ought not to be cast into Oblivion. And that, were there no other Motive but this, the King ought to retrieve his Honour, which is concern'd for the sots of so many of his Fleets, and Commanders. It is very remarkable, that tho' in these Letters he gave an Account of the Posture of Affairs, either as to Peace, or War, of so many several Kings, among whose Territories the *Spanish* Arms appear, not without Glory; yet he insists not so much on any Point, as that of *Ternate*, which was grown Old by above thirty Years standing, to the Discredit of our Nation. From all this may be inferr'd, how necessary it is always, in Affairs of great Difficulty, to bend the entire Understanding to them, and to be in Love with the Design conceiv'd, that so the Event may answer the Expectation. He at the same Time sent long Reflections, and Projects of the Count de *Monterey*, then Viceroy of *Peru*, relating to the Execution of that Affair, wherein it plainly appear'd, by the Consonancy of the Reasons, and the Opinions of Men well acquainted with those Parts, that the Expedition was of greater Concern and Importance, than all the Arguments made use of upon the like Occasions do ever amount to.

Lewdness of the King of Ternate and Cachil Amuxa. Thus was *Ternate* bandy'd in the Councils of *Spain*, whilst at home it abounded in Trade, yet stood upon its Guard, and particularly the King, whose Prosperity gave him Occasion to indulge his Inclinations, of Cruelty towards the Christians, and private Satisfaction to himself. He gave himself up to the Love of *Celicaya*, yet being divided among so many Women, it had not the usual Power over him, but allow'd of other Diversions. *Cachil Amuxa*, the bravest of his Commanders, and his Cousin German, was newly Marry'd to a Daughter of the King of *Mindanao*, a singular Beauty, not of the *Asiatick* Sort, but of the *Spanish* or *Italian*. The King, who was us'd to observe no Rules, courted her as a Gallant, and as a King, persisting, and presenting her; and was soon admitted by the *Indian*

dian Lady. Her Husband, tho' their Privacy for a while conceal'd his Wrong; at length, by the King's contriving to keep him abroad, and the Interposition of Time, which reveals all Secrets, found out who it was defil'd his Bed. What could the unfortunate Man do? He durst not kill his Wife, for the Love he bore her, and for Fear of the King's Displeasure. He resolv'd to be reveng'd, as if it had been in a Money Concern. In order to it, he dissembled the best he could, and whensoever he had an Opportunity to talk to *Queen Celicaya*, either feign'd, or profess'd Love, till he had inculcated it as he desir'd. He bore with the Disdain and Threats, which are the Weapons Nature bestow'd on that Sex; and Perseverance prevail'd, for *Celicaya* rewarded *Cachil's* Love. This Intrigue continu'd a considerable Time, till the King found it out, and both Rivals took Notice of it. Tho' the King more deeply resent'd the Reprisal his Kinsman had made, to be reveng'd; yet they did not fall out on that Account, nor forbear conversing together. They preserv'd Peace and Friendship in their Houses; and the King stood so much in need of *Cachil Amuxa*, for his Wars, which in those Parts are no less frequent, than Peace, the special Blessing of Heaven, is among us, that he durst not declare against him, and what is more, not so much as displease *Celicaya*. She, as if the Abuse tolerated in Men had been allow'd to Women, justify'd herself by alledging the Wrong the King had done her in courting the other. However, the King being once in the Field, under one of their Arbours, and *Cachil Amuxa* coming in, without his *Campilan*, or Cymiter, the Guards upon a Signal given them, handled their Arms, fell upon, and gave him many Wounds on his Head, Face, Arms and Body, none daring to defend him. He was sensible of the Occasion, and Revenge, and suddenly drawing a small *Criz*, or Dagger, he happen'd to have about him, did not only defend himself against many Cuts and Thrusts, but assaulted the Murderers, and with great Activity, wounded some, bore down others, and put the rest to Flight, killing four. Nor had his Fury stopp'd there, but that the King slipp'd away; tho' now his Wounds had weaken'd *Amuxa* by Reason of the great Quantity of Blood that ran from them. He was left for dead; but an Uncle of his, hearing the Noise, came into his Assistance, with his Followers; who all bound up his Wounds, and carry'd him to his House, where he was cur'd, by the King's Permission. This was the Effect of his Fear, rather than good Nature, for all his Kindred took the Injury upon themselves, and began to meditate Revenge; which they would certainly have compass'd, and made fair Way for the Pretension of Spain, had not those who were apprehensive of another War soon reconcil'd those Animosities. The *Cachil* was cur'd, but with such Scars in his Face, and so many deep Gashes and Seams in his Head, that he was nothing like the Man he had been before. So say they who knew him, and have seen him in our Days at *Manila* and *Ternate*. He was restor'd to the King's Favour, and both of them to that of their Wives, without Notice taken of the Accident, or as if it had been a Secret. So great is the Difference in the Humours of Nations.

Amuxa
Cachil's
the King
in Re-
venge.

The King's
Revenge.

The End of the Eighth Book.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. IX.

*Preparati-
ons in
Spain
against the
Moluccos.*

*The Pre-
sident's Re-
monstrance
to the
King.*

THE continual Application of the President and Council to expedite the Enterprize, seem'd to be a Prefage of the late ill Success at the *Molucco* Islands. The true Account of it was brought in *Don Pedro de Acunna's* Letters. - The King and his Ministers were concern'd at it ; but at the same Time, it was a Motive to hasten the Preparations, recover the lost Reputation, and put an End at once to that Strife. Some attributed the Miscarriage to Disagreement between *Gallinato* and *Furtado* ; others suspected the Discord had been between the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* Nations. None urg'd that it might be for Want of Necessaries for carrying on the Work. These Debates ended, and the President espousing the Business with the Resolution that was requisite, represented the Matter in a lively Manner to the King, recounting what the General *Furtado* had done, the Succours sent by *Don Pedro de Acunna* under *Gallinato*, and how, tho' the Officers and Soldiers did their Duty, the Success fail'd. That it was look'd upon as most certain, That the *Molucco* Kings, who still continu'd under Subjection, had acted coldly. That this Failure in them was occasion'd by a Sort of State Policy, easy to be seen thro' ; which was the Protracting of the War, and making use of our Arms for their private Advantage, without desiring it should be fully concluded. That if Means were not us'd for expelling the *Dutch* out of *Ternate*, they would become absolute Masters of the *Archipelago* of the *Conception*, and deprive his Majesty of all the Revenue of

of the Spice, as they had almost done in the most considerable Parts of India.

The King having consider'd it, approv'd of what was laid before him ; *The King's* and being sensible of its mighty Importance, judg'd the Number of Ships, *Answer.* Men and Arms demanded, too small; and there ore added more with his own Royal-Hand, without fixing a certain Proportion ; and order'd, that no Time should be lost, seeming very earnest to have his Decree put in Execution. In the same Manner he directed, thro' the Intervention of the Duke of Lerma, that the Design in Hand should be carry'd on. Hereupon the Council pass'd the Necessary Orders, and the President sent Letters and Instructions to the Viceroy of New Spain, and the Governour of the Philippine Islands, that they might with the same Diligence fulfil the Commands they should receive as to this Point. The King in his Order sent to this Effect, declar'd his Will, and the Method he was pleas'd should be observ'd as follows.

Don Pedro de Acunna, my Governour, and Captain General of the Philippine Islands and President of my Royal Court in them. On the 20th of *The King's* September of the last Year 1603. I writ to you by an Advice Boat, which *Letter to* carry'd Galpar Gomez, of the Society of IESUS, to New Spain, ac- *Don Pedro* quainting you with the Resolution I had taken concerning what you writ to *deAcunna.* me from New Spain, when you went to serve in those Posts, relating to the Expedition of Ternate. Pursuant to it, I have order'd 500 Men to be rais'd in these Kingdoms, who shall be sent aboard the Fleet that is to go th's Year to New Spain. I writ to the Viceroy, directing him to raise 500 more, that so you may have at least 800 sent you for this Enterprize. I have appointed four Captains to carry them from this Kingdom ; one of whom is the Vice-Admiral John de Esquivel, to be Commander in Chief of the said Men ; besides six in half Pay, who are skillful and experienc'd Soldiers, that in Case any of the said Captains dye by the Way, they may supply their Places ; and that they may take Charge of the Companies to be rais'd in New Spain, as I write to the Viceroy. I have appointed the said Captains 40 Ducats a Month Pay, and the Vice-Admiral John de Esquivel 60. Those in *Captains* half Pay are to have 25 Ducats ; and from that Time forward, the said *and their* John de Esquivel, in Case I order him to have the Title of Collonel, shall *Pay.* have 120 Ducats a Month ; and whilst he serves under the Title of Commander in Chief of the said Men, to have 90 Ducats a Month ; the Captains 60, and those in half Pay 40. The Soldiers, as well those rais'd in Spain, as those from New Spain, shall have Eight Ducats a Month ; the Viceroy *Soldiers* being order'd to send to those Hands as much Money as is requisite for a *Pay.* Years Pay, according to those Rates. And, if they shall be longer detain'd upon other Occasions of my Service, he shall also furnish what is Necessary, upon Advice from you. Concerning which I have thought fit to acquaint, charge and command you, that in Case this Pay of the Soldiers can be moderated, with Regard to what is usually paid there to Men of this Sort, *The Vice-* you accordingly reform it, as may be justifiable, acquainting me, and the *roy to fur-* Viceroy of New Spain with it. However you shall make no Alteration in *nish Money,* the Pay of the Vice-Admiral John de Esquivel, nor of the Captains, Ensigns, *Powder* and those in half Pay. I have also directed the Viceroy to furnish you with *and Car-* whatsoever shall be requisite, as far as 120000 Ducats you have demanded *non.*

Don Pedro
to go in
Person.

John de
Elquivel
to succeed
Don Pedro.

Charge of
Martial
Discipline,
&c.

for this Expedition, six Pieces of Battering Cannon, and 500 Quintals, or hundred Weight of Musket Powder. The Men from hence go arm'd with Muskets and Fivelocks. You must be very careful that there be due Order, Rule and Method in the Distribution of the said Money, and every Thing besides. You shall endeavour to perform what is intended, as I expect you will, with the Men sent from hence and from New Spain, and those you may have rais'd in those Islands for the Expedition against Ternate. If it be possible you shall go in Person, as you have offer'd to do, leaving those Islands in the best Order that may be. And in case the Affairs there should be in such a Posture, that you cannot go in Person upon this Expedition, you shall appoint another of sufficient Experience, and well quallify'd, to take the whole Command, for I empower you so to do. And it is my Will, That in Case you should miscarry, either going upon the Expedition, or thro' any other Accident, or the Person you shall appoint for it, that then the Vice-Admiral John de Elquivel succeed and prosecute it; and that all such as go upon the said Expedition, as well Seamen as Landmen, obey him, as they would you, if there. And I declare that in this Case, and if you should miscarry, and the said John de Elquivel succeed in the Command of the Expedition, he shall be subject and subordinate to my Royal Sovereign Court of those Islands. I have made Choice of the Captains, who have the Command of the Foot rais'd in those Kingdoms, as Persons of Merit and Service; and therefore do command you to honour and favour them as far as may be allowable, and in so doing you will please me; and that you do not reform them, nor take away their Companies, to give them to others, unless it be to advance them to higher Posts. Nevertheless, if they shall be guilty of any Crimes, you may punish them, as their Superior Officer. It is to be suppos'd, That when these Men come to those Islands, and they shall set out in the first Ships that sail from New Spain, after the Arrival of the Flota, you will have all Things in such Forwardness, that the Enterprize may be gone upon immediately. I charge you strictly to undertake it with all the Precaution, Maturity, and Consideration I can expect from so able a Soldier; and that the Men be well disciplin'd and exercis'd, and all Things so well dispos'd, that you may meet with the wish'd Success, which is of such Consequence, and you are sensible how much is hazarded, and of the great Expence that is made. You are to take Care, as I charge you, that the necessary Order be taken in the Distribution and Management of my Treasure; and that all superfluous Charges be avoided. You shall from Time to Time give me an Account of whatsoever happens, as Occasion shall offer. When you have recover'd the Fort of Ternate, you shall take the necessary Measures for the Security of the same, and of the Island. I have order'd the Viceroy of New Spain to send you Advice, as soon as the Men that go from hence arrive there, if there be conveniency so to do; and that he particularly inform you of what Force he has gather'd there, and will be effective any other Way; as also when they shall sail thence, that you may dispose Things there accordingly; and if you shall think fit that the Men be left any where, before they come to Manila, you may order it, or do as you shall think most Expedient in all Respects. Valladolid, June the 20th 1604.

After

After the Dispatching of this Order, or Letter, the Contents of it began to be executed in *Spain*. In the foregoing Year 1603, whilst *Don Pedro de Acunna* was busy in making Preparations to this Effect, an Accident happen'd in the *Philippine* Islands, which threatned the Ruin of them, and greater Calamities. A Fire broke out at *Manila* in *April*, which consum'd the best Part, and above half the City, without being able to save the Goods, which had been landed from the Ships newly arriv'd from *New Spain*, and laid up in the safest Part of the Houses, whereof 270 of Timber and Stone were burnt, as also the Monastery of *S. Dominick*, House and Church, the Royal Hospitall of the *Spaniards*, and the Magazines, no Building that lay betwixt them escaping. Fourteen *Spaniards* were burnt, and among them, the licenciado *Sanz*, a Canon of the Cathedral, with some *Indians* and *Blacks*. The Loss was valu'd at a Million. It seem'd to be an Omen of what was to follow, which agreed with the Signs seen in the Sky.

*Dreadful
Fire at
Manila.*

In the foregoing *March*, a *Chinese* Ship came into the Bay of *Manila*, in which, as the Out-Guards gave the Account, there came three great *Mandarines*, with suitable Pomp and Retinue, about their Monarch's Bu-
ness. The Governour gave them leave to land, and come into the City. As soon as landed, they were carry'd directly to the King's House, in *Palankines* of Ivory, and curious Sorts of Wood gilt, on the Shoulders of their Servants, who were clad in Red. There the Governour expected them, with the Members of the Royal Court, and a great Number of Officers and Soldiers, who also lin'd the Streets, and publick Places. When they came to the House, they were set down by their Servants, and leaving their Colours, Umbrelloes, Launces, and other Tokens of Grandeur, went into a spacious Room magnificently adorn'd. As soon as they saw the Governour, who expected them standing, the *Mandarines*, making their Obeysance, and performing Ceremonies of Civility after the *Chinese* Fashion, made up to him. *Don Pedro* return'd their Courtesy after the Manner of *Spain*. They, pursuant to their Commission, with the Interposition of Interpreters, told him; "That their King had sent them with a *Chinese*, they brought along with them in Chains, that they might with their own Eyes see a Golden Island, call'd *Cabit*, near *Manila*, of which that Subject of his had given him an Account, telling him, it was not possess'd by any Body, and therefore ask'd of him a Number of Ships, to seize it, promising to bring them back loaden with Gold, and if he did not he should take his Head. That they were come to fulfill that Promise to their King, and to satisfy him of the Truth of the Existence of so strange an Island; which being an Affair of such Consequence, their King would not commit it to any Persons of less Note than themselves. *Don Pedro de Acunna* answer'd them in a few Words. "That they were Welcome; that they might rest them in the House prepar'd for their Entertainment in the City, and they would afterwards discourse about that Affair more at Leisure. Thus they took their Leave, and at the Door got up again into their *Palankines*, on the Shoulders of their Slaves, who carry'd them to their Lodgings. There the Governour order'd them to be plentifully furnish'd with Provisions, and all Dainties as long as they staid.

*Three Chi-
nese Man-
darines at
Manila.*

*Their Ex-
traordina-
ry Message.*

*Don Pe-
dro's An-
swer.*

Jealousy
of the
Chineses.

It is a plain Case, that the coming of these *Mandarines* must raise a Jealousy, and make it be concluded, that they came upon another Design, than what they declar'd. The *Chineses* are sharp and mistrustful, and it was not to be believ'd, that their King should send them on that Errand, nor the Fiction likely to be credited by the *Spaniards*. At the same Time, eight *Chinese* Ships arriv'd at *Manila* with Merchandize, and declar'd, That the *Mandarines* come as Spies, because the King of *China* intended to break off all Trade with the *Spaniards*, and send over a mighty Fleet of Ships that could carry an hundred Thousand fighting Men, to possess himself of that Place, and that this Expedition would be some time that Year. The Governour redoubled his Care for the Security of the City, and order'd the *Mandarines* to be well treated, but not to be suffer'd to go out of the City, nor to administer Justice among the *Sangleys*, or *Chineses*, as they had began to do, which they seem'd to resent. Then he sent them Word, that they must dispatch their Business, and return speedily to *China*. All this was done, without any Signs of Jealousy shown by the *Spaniards*, or that they saw into their private Designs.

Second Vi-
sit of the
Manda-
rines, and
the Gover-
nour's An-
swers.

The *Mandarines* visited the Governour again, and then he was more plain; and making something of a Jest of their Coming, said to them, That he wonder'd their King should give Credit to the *Chinese* they brought Prisoner; or if it had been true that any such Gold were in the *Philippine* Islands, that he should think the *Spaniards* would suffer it to be carry'd away, the Country belonging, as it did, to the King of *Spain*. The *Mandarines* answer'd they believ'd as much; but that their King had sent them, and they were oblig'd to come, and to carry him an Answer. That having done their Part, according to their Duty, they would return. The Governour being willing to make short Work of it, sent the *Mandarines*, with their Prisoner and Servants to the Port of *Cabite*, which is two Leagues from the City. There they were receiv'd with the Noise of our Cannon, purposely fir'd at their Landing, which they admir'd, and did not conceal their Surprise and Fear. When landed they ask'd the Prisoner, whether that was the Island he had told the King of: He, nothing daunted, answer'd, It was. They reply'd, Then where is the Gold? All that is in it, rejoyn'd he, is Gold, and I will make it good. The same Answer he made to several other Questions put to him; and all was writ down in the Presence of some *Spanish* Commanders, and trusty *Naguatatoes*, or Interpreters. To conclude, the *Mandarines* order'd a Basket made of Palm-Tree Leaves to be fill'd with that Earth, to carry it to the King of *China*; and after dining and resting, return'd to *Manila*. The *Naguatatoes* or Interpreters, declar'd, That the *Mandarines* pressing the Prisoner to answer directly to the Purpose, he told them, That the meaning of what he said to the King was, that there was abundance of Gold, and other Wealth in the Possession of the *Spaniards* and Natives of the *Philippine* Islands; and if he would furnish him with a Fleet well mann'd, he having been at *Luzon*, and knowing the Country, would undertake to make himself Master of it, and return to *China* with the Ships laden with Gold. This, with what the *Chineses* had said before, seem'd more likely than the Invention of the *Mandarines*.

The Chi-
nese Priso-
ner prov'd
a Cheat.

He ex-
plains him-
self.

Don F. Michael de Benavides, then Archbishop Elect of Manila, who understood the Chinese Language, was of this Opinion. He had been in their Country, was acquainted with the Subtilties of the Sangleys, and suffer'd their Torments and Cruelties. It was presently Judg'd, that the Mandarines came under that Colour to view the Country, and to lay the Foundation of their Insurrection and Mutiny there. These certain Judgments are grounded on the Irrational Disposition of the Sangleyes, or Chineses, which, not to mention other Proofs, will sufficiently appear, by some few Periods of the long Letter Ferdinand de los Rios, of whom we have spoken before, writ to Manila, from the Port of Pinar in Canton, where he was upon the Service of the Church, and of his King. For these Infidels, says Part of a he, have the Light of Nature more clouded than any other People in the Letter World, and therefore there is need of Angels, and not Men, to deal with concerning them. For the better conceiving what a sort of a Country 'tis we are in, I shall the Chinese only say, that this is the true Kingdom of the Devil, and where he may be said to govern with absolute Power. Every Sangley, or Chinese, seems to be possess'd by him; for there is no piece of Malice, or Fraud, but what they attempt. The Government, tho' outwardly it appears good, as to Order and Method, for its Security; yet when you once have Experience of its Practice, you will find it is all a Contrivance of the Devil. Tho' they do not here publicly rob, or plunder Strangers, they do it another worse Way, &c.

This Jealousy conceiv'd against the Sangleyes, who, once for all, are the Chineses so call'd by the Spaniards at Manila, was verifi'd; for it design the was afterwards known, that the Captain of the King of China's Conquest Guards had begg'd of him the Conquest of the Philippine Islands, at the of the Philippine Perswasion of that Chinese they brought Prisoner. The Governour treated the Mandarines civilly, and mistrusted their Designs, keeping a watchfull Eye over them. However there wanted not some-body that ask'd them, what they thought of that Fellow's Invention, since they had seen that the Place he mention'd was so far from having any Gold, that there were not the least Tokens of any such Thing to be found in it; and since it was so, they ought to make him give it under his Hand, that he had told his King a Lye. One of the Mandarines bid him do so, and he taking the Pen form'd three Characters, which, explain'd in our Tongue, signify'd, If the King The Prisoners Declares, it is Gold; and if not, it is Sand. Being press'd farther, he declared, That he had inform'd his King that Gold was produc'd there, to incline his Majesty to entrust him with a good Fleet, wherewith he might take Revenge of the Christian Sangleyes, who had done him many Wrongs. Little Notice was taken of all this, and tho' the Authority of the Mandarines seem'd to corroborate it, all was look'd upon as Folly, for none believ'd that they design'd to carry on a War out of their Country. The Mandarines return'd Home, having, as is believ'd, communicated their Project to the Sangleyes that were settled there, who at Manila, and in the other Islands, were above 30000.

The same was practis'd by the Chinese King in the Island of Aynao, or Chineses Aynan, a most fruitful Country, and near to his Kingdom, where the Chineses crept in under Colour of Trade, as they did at Manila, and possess'd themselves of it to this Day. This Island has such a plentiful Pearl Fishery, that in the Year 1600 the King caus'd 1500 Arrobas, that is, 375 Hundred F f

Chineses take Aynan by Treachery.

*Monstrous
Quantity
of Pearls.*

dred Weight of them to be taken up. This will not seem incredible to such as know, that not long before, in four Months Time, he gather'd 1700 Vessels that row'd, for this Fishery, every one being oblig'd to take a *Pico*, that is, five *Arrobas*, or Quarters of an Hundred, to gather a sufficient Quantity of Pearls to rebuild'd a Royal Apartment that had been pull'd down in that King's Palace. He built it again, covering the Walls and Roofs with Clusters of Pearls, and Birds, Beasts, Fruits, and Flowers, all made of that precious Substance, set on Plates of Gold. The Truth of this Fact appears by an Authentick Writing, which gives an Account of it; for being likely to be judg'd Fabulous, it was requisite to authorize the Relation.

*Precautions taken
at Manila.*

The Governour did not altogether look upon the Design of the *Mandarines* as a Piece of Vanity and Folly, tho' he conceal'd his Thoughts; for he made some Preparations, and among the rest hasten'd the repairing of the Walls of the City; which having suffer'd much by the Fire, when the Arms were also lost, he made up that Defect the best he could, and the *Sangleys* were assisting in it. It is to be observ'd, that those People have a separate Government among themselves, in the *Philippine* Islands.

*Encan a
Chinese of
great Sub-
tily.*

At the Time that *Don Pedro*, the Governour, was most intent upon the War against the *Molucco* Islands, there happen'd such an Accident at *Manila*, as might not only have diverted it, but utterly destroy'd the whole Province. A Man was then living, who stay'd at *Manila*, when the great Pyrate *Li-maon*, of whose Life and Actions there are Printed Relations, came to *Manila*. He was then an Idolater, and, as was reported, serv'd the Pyrate in a leud Capacity. His Name was *Encan*, born at *Semygua*, in the Province of *Chincheo*; and was baptiz'd under the Government of *Santiago de Vera*, who gave him his Surname, and he was call'd *Baptist de Vera*. He prov'd a subtle Dealer, and successfully Active, by which Means, following Trade, he gather'd immense Wealth, and was Great with the Governours of the *Philippines*. Through his Interposition, the *Sangleys* propos'd to *Don Pedro*, that he should allow them to repair a Parapet of the Wall, which was finishing, at their own Expence; for that they, as a Part of the Publick, would do his Majesty that Piece of Service; and every one of them offer'd four Royals, that is, two Shillings, towards the Work. This Piece of Service, and the Favour of the Citizens, *Encan* had purchas'd by good Turns, made the Suspicion conceiv'd of their Conspiracy vanish, or at least be little regarded.

*His crafty
Practices.*

He was respected by the *Spaniards*, and belov'd by the *Sangleys*, had been their Governour several Times, and had many Godsons, and other Dependants. At this Time he cunningly kept within the City, to secure Things by his Presence; but from thence he stirr'd up the People, and laid his Design, by Means of his Confidants. He thought fit to know what Number of People he should find to put it in Execution, and that he might muster them in private, order'd that every one of his Country-Men should bring him a Needle; pretending he had Occasion for them for some Work. The *Sangleys*, either guessing at the End for which these Needles were gather'd, or else ignorantly obey'd *Encan*. The Needles being put into a little Box, the Number of them was so great, that it encourag'd him to undertake a far different Work than he had propos'd.

The Governour still forwarded the Work of the Walls; rais'd Men; and directed the Justices to furnish themselves with Provisions, and Arms,

to relieve the City. Near the *Parian*, which is the Quarters of the *Chineses*, there was another Ward, inhabited by *Japoneses*, who are Enemies to the *Sangleyes*, with whom they are continually at War in their own Country. The Governour summon'd the Heads of them, and artfully div'd into their Inclinations, to discover, what Use he might make of them upon Occasion, and whether they would assist him against the *Chineses*, in Case they came to a War. The *Japoneses*, proud of the Confidence he repos'd in them, and of an Opportunity of serving against their Enemy, answer'd, they were ready to dye with the *Spaniards*. This discreet Precaution occasion'd some Harm, for the *Japoneses* revealing the Secret, or adding some Circumstances in the Relation, it was given out, that *Don Pedro*, with their Assistance, intended to cut off the *Sangleyes*; and some of the *Japoneses* told them as much, that they might fly, and reward them for the Intelligence. Many of them had Thoughts of absconding in the Mountains, the Rest were frighted, and those who intended to revolt, found an Opportunity to perswade the others to joyn with them, and encourag'd the unsettled with fair Promises. In short, most of them consented to the Rebellion, and appointed *S. Francis's Day*, when the Christians were all at Church, celebrating that Festival, for the Time of rising. Others were for having it done at Night, when 25000 of them were to break in and murder our Men.

Don Pedro strength-ens himself

Japoneses promise to assist the Spaniards, and alarm the Chineses.

Conspiracy of the Chineses.

Discovery of it.

Notwithstanding their Secrecy some Discovery was made. *John de Talavera*, Curate of the Village of *Quiapo*, inform'd the Arch-Bishop, that an *Indian Woman*, with whom a *Sangley*, or *Chinese*, was in Love, had discover'd to him the Plot laid for *S. Francis's Day*. It was also reported, that a *Woman-Black* had said, there would be a great Slaughter, and another Conflagration, like the former, on *S. Francis's Night*. These and other Advices were presently made known to the Governour and Council. A sufficient Proof was to see the *Chineses* sell all, to their very Shoes, and compound their Debts, tho' this was rather lookt upon as a Design to be gone, than to commit any Treason. To dispell their Fear of the *Spaniards* and *Japoneses*, the Governour made them some Speeches himself, and caus'd the same to be proclaim'd in all Parts, ingaging the King's Faith and Security; but nothing was of Force to quiet them. Three Days before the Feast of *S. Francis*, above 400 *Anhayes* Merchants stay'd in the City, because they could not dispose of their Goods. These seeing the others in Disorder, on Account of the Report, that the *Spaniards* and *Japoneses* design'd to massacre them, sent a Message to the Governour, by *Chican*, one of the Province of *Anhay*, or *Chincheo*, whereof that City is Head. He came to him by Night, for Fear of the other *Chineses*; and acquainted him with the Dread, and Confusion they were in, without knowing what Course to take, and therefore they came to him for Advice and Protection. He having hear'd him, gave all possible Security in his Answer, and the next Day went himself to talk to his Companions, whom he satisfy'd in a very obliging Manner, assuring them, that the *Spanish* Nation never was guilty of executing, or consenting to such Villanies. This Discourse satisfy'd them; but still those who had Mischief in their Hearts did not desist.

The Governour's Precautions.

Anhayes in Fear, assur'd.

The *Sangleyes*, or *Chineses* live there in a separate Quarter, which the *Arabs* call *Alcayceria*, and the People of the *Philippines*, *Parian*. On *S.*

Parian
the Chi-
nese Quar-
ter.
First meet-
ing of the
mutinous
Chineses.
Minondo
a Town of
Chineses.
Tondo a
Town of
Natives.
Baptist,
the Chi-
nese Go-
vernour
sent to
appease
them.

Inscription
on the
Chinese
Rebels Co-
lours.

Falseness of
Baptist.

Don Lew-
is Perez
secures
Minondo.

Francis's Eve, a great Number of them met in a Houie half a League from the City, where there is a Sugar Work : The House stands in a Thicket, which belongs to the *Singley* Governour. Those who began first to gather there, were the Gardiners of the Quarter of *Parian*. *Don Lewis Perez de las Marinbas* had Advice of it, from the *Dominicans* of *Minondo*. *Don Lewis* had Charge of the Christian *Sangleyes*, and sent Word to *Don Pedro de Acunna*. *Minondo* is a Town inhabited by *Chineses* opposite to *Manila*, the River only parting them. From *Minondo* the *Chinese* Dwellings run on, as far as another Town of the Natives, call'd *Tondo*; and in the Quarter of the *Chineses*, there is a strong Monastery of *Augustinians*, all of Stone. Not far from it the *Dominicans* have two, but wooden Buildings. The Governour, to be fully inform'd of the whole Truth, sent thither *Baptist* before mention'd, Governour of the *Sangleyes*, of whom he had a great Opinion, and all Men lookt upon him as a sincere Christian, and loyal Subject to the King. He charg'd him to speak to them in his Name, and to convince them how little Cause they had to fear, as knowing how peaceable the *Spaniards* were. *Baptist* undertook this Commission, went to the Sugar Work, which was his own, spoke to his People as he thought fit, and return'd very late with the Answer, telling *Don Pedro*, that he had been in Danger of being chosen their Chief, and that his People would have forc'd him to accept of it. That it was true, they were assembled together, and strong, but that it was all occasion'd by the Fear they had conceiv'd of the *Spaniards*; and that they had display'd several Colours with *Chinese* Characters on them, which, being translated, contain'd these Words.

'The Chief and General of the Kingdom of China, call'd Ezequi; and another of the Tribe of Su, call'd Tym, following the Dictates of Heaven in this Affair, that all the Chineses may unanimously joyn in this Work, and obey them, in Order to root out these Enemy Robbers, are willing that Yochume and Quinte, Japonese, in Conjunction with us Sangleyes, do conquer this City, and when we have subdu'd it, we will divide this Country, even to the Grass of it, equally between us, as becomes loving Brothers.

He pretended to be mightily concern'd, because they would have proclaim'd him King, and he was forc'd to make his Escape to save his Loyalty; and had deceiv'd them, promising to return. Hereupon the Governour us'd several Means to appease them, the Danger of so furious a Beginning increasing with the Number of the Rebels. The first Mischief he endeavour'd to prevent was the destroying of the Rice, which was then almost ripe. He appointed Colonel *Augustin de Arce*, Major *Christopher de Azcueta*, and Captain *Gallinato* to go speak to them; but *Don Lewis Perez de las Marinbas*, who liv'd at *Minondo* thinking the Rebellion now requir'd some harsher Remedy, came at Night to advise the Governour to be more watchful, and that all the City should do the like. He desir'd he would allow him some Men to secure that Town, for he fear'd the *Sangleyes* would burn it that Night, and it was now requisite to make open War; and he must not believe they could be reduc'd by Messages, or fair Means. The Governour being impos'd upon by *Baptist*, still hop'd all would be compos'd without Effusion of Blood, and at the Perswasion of *Don Lewis* gave him 20 Soldiers, his own Servants, and some marry'd *Spaniards*, who were Inhabitants of the same Town. He distributed these Men into the most dangerous Posts of it, that the Enemy might not set Fire to it, and the Christian

Sangleyes

Sangleyes when they lost their Goods, joyn'd the Rebels. On the other Hand, the Governour privately posted his Troops, and Sentinels; and all Men expected, or dreaded the Fate of that Night, particularly the General *John de Alcega*, who, by the Governour's Command, was to follow the Orders he receiv'd from *Don Lewis*. Proclamation was again made, that all Men should be peaceable, under Penalty of being sent to the Gallies for four Years.

This avail'd so little, that, excepting 4000 Handicrafts Men, and the *Andayes* Merchants, all the Rest assembled at the Sugar Work. At one in the Morning, a Party of about 1000 *Sangleyes* march'd out of a Fort, with *Catanas*, or Cymiters, Halbards, and other Weapons advanc'd, as also with long Staves, harden'd at the Fire at the Points; which they use instead of Pikes, and are no less serviceable. These are very frequent among them in their Country, and are made of a solid Sort of Wood, call'd *Mangle*. They fell upon the Farm, or Pleasure House of Captain *Stephen de Marquina*, not far from their *Parian*, and murder'd him, his Wife, Children, Servants, and Slaves. They set Fire to the House, and to those of other *Spaniards*, among which were those of Colonel *Peter de Chaves*, and of two Clergymen, who liv'd a retir'd Life, their Names *Francis Gomez*, and *Ferdinand de los Rios*. They also kill'd *F. Bernard de Santa Catalina*, Commissary of the Inquisition, of the Order of *S. Dominick*. All these defended themselves, as did many more who escap'd, desparately wounded. Thence they drew towards the Town of *Tondo*, which is divided into Quarters. They fell upon that of *Quiapo*, and set Fire to it, after murdering 20 Persons. Among the Rest they burnt a Lady of Quality, and a Boy, giving great Shouts, and boasting that from thence forward, the *Indians* should pay Tribute to them, and the *Castillas* perish.

1000
Sangleyes
salley.

They murder several and burn Houses.

More Cruelties.

News being brought on Saturday Morning, that the *Sangleyes* were going to enter the Town, and that the Natives had withdrawn themselves in their Vessels toward *Manila*, in Order to get in, or lye under the Shelter of its Walls in the River, the Governour dispos'd the Regular Troops, and those of the City *Militia* about the Walls, viewing the Gates, and all weak Places. He sent Captain *Gaspar Perez* with his regular Company to *Tondo*, and order'd him to obey *Don Lewis de las Marinhas*, and to carry no Colours. As soon as he came, the 20 Men sent the Night before, joyn'd him, and *Don Lewis* thinking that too small a Force, sent to desire Succours. The Governour knowing he was in the right, sent the Captain *Don Thomas Bravo*, his own Nephew, 24 Years of Age, who serv'd at *Ternate* in the Expedition of *Andrew Furtado*. He went over to the Town of *Tondo*, with another Company of the regular Forces, some Voluntiers, and seven of the Governour's Servants, leaving the Colours in the City. After him he sent Captain *Peter de Arce*, an old Low-Country Soldier: *Don Lewis* sent Word again, that the *Chineses* were marching towards *Tondo*, that they were Numerous, and he fear'd they would burn the Town, and a stately Church of the *Augustinians*. The Governour sent him 60 Men more, most of them arm'd with Pikes, and Halbards, the first having been Musketers. These were commanded by *Don John de Penna*, till he deliver'd them to *Don Lewis*. When this Company came, there had been an Ingagement at *Tondo*, wherein *Don Lewis* slew abundance of *Sangleyes*, and oblig'd the rest to retire; preventing their burning the Town, which began to take Fire, and the Houses at the Entrance of it were consum'd. *Don Lewis* would have pursu'd the Enemy,

Captain
Perez sent
to Tondo.

Captain
Thomas
Bravo Suc-
cours him.

Chineſes
repuls'd.

Don Lewis
reſtrains
Captain
Alcega.

Pursues
the Enemy
againſt
Advice.

Is ſlaugh-
ter'd with
his Men.

Chineſes
rejoyce
with the
Spaniards
Heads.

my, who retir'd to their Fort, and *Don Thomas Bravo* endeavour'd to diſſwade him, ſaying, The Men were all fatigu'd, and that as ſoon as out of the Town they would meet with nothing but Bogs and Brambles; and ſince the Governor's Orders extended no farther than to keep the Enemy off from thence, and ſave the burning of the Church and Houſes, and that had been done, they ought to ſend him Advice of it, before they proceeded, being only the River parted them, and in the mean while the Soldiers would reſreſh themſelves, and they might hear more of the Enemies Deſign. Captain *Alcega* ſaid the ſame, but *Don Lewis* being bent upon it, and offended to be contradicted, ask'd him, *What Hen had cackled in his Ear?* And did them follow him, for five and twenty Soldiers were enough to deal with all China. *Alcega* answer'd, *He was us'd to hear as good Game-Cocks as himſelf Crow*; yet he would do well to conſider what he did. However, tho' *F. Farfan*, an *Auguſtinian*, earneſtly perſwaded *Don Lewis*, falling on his Knees, to do as they deſir'd him, and not to go any farther, yet he could not be prevail'd on; but having order'd the Captains, *Gaspar Perez*, and *Peter de Arceo*, to ſecure ſome Poſts with a few Men, he broke out furioſly, and began to march, being follow'd by the Men, in Purſuit of the Enemy; who had already gain'd the Road, and they overtook them near the Fort, between the Bogs and the Fordable Shoals. When they came to the Fort, the Country open'd a little more. Here they began to fall upon the Enemies Rear, and they perceiving how few the *Spaniards* were, as not being above 130, drew up in a Body with two Points, like a Half Moon, and lay in Ambuſh among the Graſs. The main Body of our Men march'd towards the Fort, and then thoſe who lay in Ambuſh riſing. enclos'd our Men, and fell upon them ſo furioſly with ſharp Stakes, Cymiters, and other Weapons, that they cut them in Pieces. Head-Pieces of Prooſ were found batter'd with a Stake. A Muſketier, who ſerv'd *Don Lewis*, reported, that a Company of *Singleyes* fell upon him, who having enclos'd him, laid about ſo implacably, that they bruiz'd and broke his Legs; after which he fought a conſiderable Time on his Knees, till they ſtun'd him with their Staves, againſt which a ſtrong Helmet could not defend him. They left the Enſign *Francis de Rebolledo* ſtun'd, for Dead, and when the Enemy drew off, he made a Shift to get up and eſcape, with his Head cruelly cut, and was cur'd in the City, where he told many Particulars of that miſerable Slaughter, about 30 more eſcap'd, and among them *F. Farfan*, who all got off by being in the Rear, and light of Foot. *Don Lewis* was kill'd there by the ſame People that had ſlain his Father, and with him the General *Alcega*, *Don Thomas Bravo*, Captain *Cebrian de Madrid*, and only one of all the Governor's Servants ſurviv'd.

The *Singleyes* cut off the Heads of the Slain, and hoſting them on the Points of their Spears, run in at their Noſtrils, carry'd them to preſent to their *Chineſe* General, who was in the Fort, and his Name *Hontay*. He, and the Reſt, view'd the Heads, and ſet them up with much rejoycing, returning Thanks to Heaven, and the Earth, according to their Cuſtom, for that Victory; thinking they ſhould meet with little Oppoſition from the *Spaniards* after that.

All this Day, being the Feaſt of *S. Francis*, and the next, the Enemy ſpent in rejoycing. At *Manila* they were burning the Suburbs, and Houſes without the Walls, and conſider'd what Order they ſhould take againſt the

the *Parian*; for tho' many Thousands of *Sangleyes* us'd to inhabit it, there were not then 1500 remaining, and among them 500 *Anbeyes* Merchants, a peaceable and rich People, of whom there was no mistrust; the rest were Handicrafts, no Way suspected. About 50 of the others were secur'd, who had their Hair shorn, and were mix'd among the Christian *Sangleys*. These gave Information, that they had burnt Monasteries of Religious People in several Places. Some Clergy-Men, with abundance of Women and Children, secur'd themselves in the Church of *S. Francis del Monte*, and some Companies of *Sangleyes* coming to besiege them, they went up into a Belfry, where having fixt a Sheet on a Staff, they display'd it like Colours, the People appearing at the Windows, the Women and Children ringing the Bells, rating the Enemy, and bidding them come on. Our Men often firing two Mulkets, which was all they had, the *Sangleyes* durst not approach, being more afraid than they had Occasion, and accordingly drew off to a strong Post, whence they were to continue the War.

The Governour endeavour'd to prevent the News of the Slaughter spreading abroad, lest it should discourage the Country; and gave out, that the Slain were at *S. Francis del monte*. He warn'd the Justices to get together all the *Indian* Servants, because there were scarce any *Spaniards* left; and sent the Factor *Francis de las Missas* to cruise upon the Coast, with three Rowing Vessels, towards the Enemies Fort, to cut off all their Provisions. The Factor perform'd his Part so well, that he sunk some Vessels, and burnt those that carry'd them Provisions. He kill'd many of their Men at the Mouth of a River that falls into the Sea, about the Fort call'd *Navotas*; look'd for the Clergy-men they were said to have kill'd in their Houses; and sent away to *S. Francis del monte*, a Party of 500 *Japoneses*, with three *Spaniards*, and two *Franciscan* Fryers, to gather the Remains of that Slaughter. In his Way, he pass'd by the Enemy's Fort, with a Design to do them some Harm, if he could, and found they had abandon'd it, retiring to the *Parian*, to joyn the rest and besiege the City, being puff'd up with their late Victory. This happen'd on Monday the 6th. The *Japoneses* search'd the Fort, where they found about 200 sick and wounded *Chineses*, whom they slew, and saving abundance of Provisions, burnt the Fort with all their Warlike Preparations, which could not be serviceable against the first Owners. They went up to the Monastery, and re-

Francis de las Missas does the Rebels much Harm.

The Japoneses kill 200 Chineses, and burn their Fort.

The few *Sangleyes* in the *Parian* were no less apprehensive, than the greater Number in the Fort, both because they were so near, and for that it was suppos'd they would joyn their Companions, when they saw the *Spaniards* decline. Besides, it was known, that those in Rebellion had sent to desire them to come over to their Party, giving them Notice of the *Spaniards* they had kill'd. This was discover'd by a *Sangley*, who swimming over, was taken by the Sentinel on the Vessels that were in the River, who, having confess'd on the Rack, that he was a Spy, and went forward and backward with Intelligence, was put to Death. On the other Hand, it was consider'd, that though the safest Way was to kill all those People, yet it was not just to execute Men that were not convicted of any Crime; especially since they came to the *Philippine* Islands, to trade upon

Rebels send to stir up the others.

Spy executed.

the

The Governour would secure the Anhayes.

the publick Faith, and the Governour having engag'd for their Safety, in case they were quiet, and intermeddled not in the Rebellion. For this Reason some Councils of War were held among the Commanders, at which the Counsellors, and the Archbishop, were also present; and considering, that the Rebels earnestly applying to those in the *Parian*, to side with them, it was possible they might be perverted, and in case they did not revolt, those Mutiniers would kill them, it was resolv'd, That the *Anhayes* Merchants should be perswaded to retire with their Effects into the Monastery of *S. Augustin*, which is a strong House within *Manila*. The Governour having himself in Person acquainted them herewith, as also by some of the Counsellors and their Friends, yet they were irresolute; and tho' some of them committed the keeping of their Goods to others, they stay'd themselves to be Spectators of the Event. The last Care taken of them, was *Don Pedro's* going in Person to the *Parian* that same Day; and about an Hour after, many of the Enemies Colours appear'd on the other Side of the River, along the Bank of it. They came from the Fort, which was a quarter of a League from the City.

Chineses pass over so Parian.

Some of the *Sangleyes* began to swim over to the *Parian*, and others came in Boats and Floats provided for that Purpose. Their Passage could not be obstructed, because the *Galiots* and *Carcoas* belonging to the Navy were then among the *Pintados*, to defend those Islands; Intelligence having been brought, that a Fleet of *Mindanaos* and *Ternates* was coming to invade them. The Rebels enter'd the *Parian* with great Cries, bringing the Heads of the *Spaniards* they had kill'd on *S. Francis's* Day, run through the Nostrils. The Governour observing their Resolution, order'd the Captains, *Gaspar Perez*, and *Peter de Arceo*, who were at *Tondo*, to come over to the City with their Companies. The Enemy being return'd to the *Parian*, with that dismal Spectacle of the Heads, began to perswade the *Anhayes*, who had not yet declar'd, but not being able to prevail, and finding them positive on the contrary, and that they blam'd what they had done, they fell upon and butcher'd above 200 of them. Then they plunder'd Part of their Silks, which made them Cloaths of several Colours. They also hang'd other Merchants, and some, being about 80 in Number, hang'd themselves, to prevent falling into their Hands, which is very frequent in that Country. One of these was the *Sangley* General himself, call'd, *Hontay. F. John Pobre*, formerly a Captain, since a *Franciscan* Fryer, and at this Time compell'd by Necessity to take up Arms again, reported, That the mutinous *Sangleyes*, having perswaded the *Anhayes* to follow their Example, they appointed *Chican*, a rich *Sangley*, and Master of the *Spanish* Tongue, to answer for them. He, before he would speak his Mind, told them it would be proper to set up a Gallows, and the Heads of the *Spaniards* on it, that being in View, they might all take Courage to fight manfully. They approv'd of his Counsel, and the Gallows being set up, he went up himself to range the Heads, and taking out a Rope he had carry'd up unseen, put it about his own Neck, and hang'd himself in the Sight of them all.

The Chineses murder the Anhayes.

Some hang themselves to avoid their Fury.

Strange Death of Chicán.

The same Day Captain *Peter de Brito*, being with his Company in the Cathedral, which had been assign'd him the Night before, for his Post, and observing that a certain House was not uncover'd, contrary to the Proclamation.

mation made the Day before, commanding them all to have the Palm-Tree Leaves and *Nipa*, wherewith they are thatch'd, taken off, for Fear of another Conflagration; he sent to take it off. The Ensign *Andrew Oregon* went up to this Purpose to the very Top, and there found *Baptist* hidden with his Sword and Dagger, whom some Women endeavour'd to conceal. Being ask'd by the Ensign, what he did there? he answer'd, He was taking off the *Nipa*. The next Question he was quite dash'd, and his own Conscience suddenly accusing him, he said, *Do not kill me, Sir*. The Ensign mildly encouraging, bid him go to the Governour, who expected him, and stay'd to take off the Covering of *Nipa*. Then coming down saw some Soldiers, and went up again with them. By this Time certain *Indian* Women had hid *Baptist* in a Chamber, where the Soldiers entering by Force, bound him, and he was cast into Prison among other *Chineses*. The Tryal was short, as is usual in the Martial Way, and in the mean while the Prisoners were remov'd to Captain *Gallinato's* House. Thither came a *Japonese* Boy, enquiring for *Baptist*. They found his Pocket full of Squibs, and another Boy with a Piece of a Wax-Candle, all which was given them by one of *Baptist's* Slaves. The Squibs were all bloody, perhaps it was some Christian's Gore. He own'd himself he had so great a Hand in the Rebellion, that it was not without good Reason they would have made him their Chief. That the *Sangleys* call'd out upon his Name. That *Hontay* was troubled at his Absence, saying, He must needs be in some Trouble, since he did not come to Head them; and for this Reason he hang'd himself. Next appear'd the Ring-leaders of the Mutiny, and it was prov'd against them, That they had set up a Pole on the Place call'd *el Cerro*, or the Hill of *Calocan*, and on it a black Flag, with two *Chinese* Characters on it, which imported *CUNTIEN*, the Signification whereof is, *IN OBEDIENCE TO HEAVEN*. Other Colours were found with the Army that fought at *Dilao*, with a Cut on them containing the *Chinese* Figures of *Encan*, or *Baptist*.

Several Religious Men, at this Time fought against the Mutiniers; but among them all, special Praise is due to the Valour of the Lay-Brother *Antony Flores*, of the Order of *S. Augustin*. He was born in *Estremadura*, had serv'd in *Flanders*, was a Slave in *Turkey* above 20 Years, and made his Escape out of the Inland Country by his Valour and Industry. He went over to the *Philippine* Islands, where he cheerfully took the Habit, in the Monastery of *S. Augustin* at *Manila*. He always show'd great Humility in Obedience, and lost nothing of his Courage in the Simplicity of a Religious Life. Him the Governour order'd to scour the River, in the Galliot belonging to the Monastery, fighting the Ships and *Champanes* of the *Sangleyes*. One Night after having drove from the Shore above 200 Vessels, burnt some large ones, and sunk others, he stay'd in the Middle of the River *Pasig*, to observe the *Sangleyes*. Between eleven and twelve, he perceiv'd that one of the Rebels was swimming over to the City, and the Darkness causing him to mistake, he lighted upon Brother *Antony's* Galliot. He having seen him before, the *Indian* Servants had the Opportunity of laying hold of him, drew him by the Hair into the Galliot, and carry'd him to the Governour. He was put to the Rack, and there confess'd, That he came to acquaint the *Sangleyes* of the *Parian*, that the next Day those

Baptist
Chief of
the Rebels
taken.

His Con-
fession.

Why *Hontay*
hang'd
himself.

Brother
Antony
Flores, a
brave
Man.

Does good
Service.

Takes a
Spy.

on the other Side would cross the River, and then they would all together, with the Engines they had provided, attack the Wall, put all the *Spaniards* to the Sword, and make themselves Masters of the Islands. The Governour having this Intelligence, took the necessary Precautions for the next Day, and Brother *Antony* return'd to his Monastery, where he furnish'd himself with Meal and other Provisions for his Galliot. He carry'd two Muskets for himself, and drew his Vessel into a Creek the River makes, that runs by the Walls of *Manila*, among abundance of *Manglans*, which are Trees growing in any watrey Land, and so thick, that Men may easily be hid among them, without being perceiv'd. There Brother *Antony* lay in Ambush supposing, or knowing, that the *Sangleyes* must of Necessity pass that Way, as being the narrowest in the River, and nearest to the Wall. Nor was he deceiv'd in his Expectation, for they came very early in the Morning, and were passing over in great Numbers from the first Peep of Day, till very late. The Fryer had put above 200 Bullets into two Pouches, and kept firing the two Muskets from before five in the Morning, at break of Day till six in the Evening, cooling them with Vinegar; nor did he ever fire at less than a Company of 20 or 30 *Sangleyes*, that no Shot might be lost. It was concluded for certain, that he alone that Day kill'd above 600 of those Barbarians. The Governour afterwards sent him in pursuit of those that remain'd, with a thousand *Indians*, and he slew above 3000 *Sangleyes*, putting to flight the small Remains of them.

He alone
kills 600
Chinesees.

Desperate
Sangleyes
kill'd from
the Wall.

At this Time many of the *Sangleyes* that had cross'd the River, appear'd in the Streets of the *Parian*; who standing in Sight of the Walls, with their own, or the Weapons they had taken from the *Spaniards* they slew, call'd upon those who defended the City, whence they made several Musket Shot at them, wounding and killing many, for they came within good Aim, after a desperate Manner. It was reported, they had taken their *Anson*, that is, a Composition of *Opium*, as the *Turks* do, and is also us'd by the People of the *Moluccos*, when they are to give Battel; for it doses and gives them a brutal Courage. A Piece of Cannon was planted on the Gate of the *Parian*, and did considerable Execution, and no Man would have suspected that any had been there. Some *Japoneses* and Natives of the *Philippines* sally'd out upon the *Sangleyes*, with good Success; for they kill'd many of them, and particularly such as had been wounded by the small Shot, and Brass Guns on the Wall. They thinking the *Parian* was a Shelter for Cowards, set Fire to it, and went out to fight the *Japoneses* and *Indians*. The *Sangleyes* from the Houses, where they lay conceal'd, kill'd a *Portuguese* Captain, and wounded three others, with small Shot. One of them was *Ruy Gonzalez de Sequeyra*, Commander in Chief of the *Moluccos*. The *Sangleyes* remov'd to the Monastery of *Candelaria*, that is of *Candlemas*, whence they sally'd more furiously than from the *Parian*.

Opium
gives
Courage.

Japoneses
and Indi-
ans fight
the Chi-
nesees.

Fight of
Spaniards
and Chi-
nesees.

On *Tuesday* in the Morning, Captain *Gallinato* march'd towards the *Candelaria*, with about 500 *Spaniards*, and some *Japoneses*. The Enemy refus'd not the Engagement, but came out above 4000 strong. Our Men made themselves Masters of a Bridge, whence they pour'd some Volleys upon them. Perceiving the Loss they sustain'd, they fell back, to draw the *Spaniards* into open Field, and serve them as they had done *Don Lewis*;
but

but tho' some Soldiers were so bold as to go into the Church, and plunder Part of what the *Sangleyes* had rob'd in the *Parian*, yet some of them retir'd hastily to the Bridge, with the Loss of three *Spaniards*, and five *Japoneses*, besides the wounded, the Enemy charging them in a Body. Of the *Chineses* 360 of the boldest were kill'd, which made them flinch with Fear. The same Day in the Evening, a Party of them came up to assault the Wall, where it was lowest, bringing scaling Ladders, and other Necessaries, cover'd with Silk; but the Cannon play'd so smartly on them, that they lost their Ladders, and many of them their Lives. This same Afternoon there was an Engagement on the Side of the *Parian*, where the Enemy brought on two great Machines, like Carts, made the Night before, with Wheels, and stuff'd with Quilts, Blankets, and such Materials, to defend them against the Cannon, and small Shot. The Governour was apprehensive that they had some Fire-works, they being great Masters at them; but was soon satisfy'd, for having fir'd at them with the Piece that was over the Gate of the *Parian*, where one of his Servants was Gunner, it carry'd away a considerable Part of the foremost Machine, and with it a good Number of the *Sangleyes* that drew underneath, and were on it. However they advanc'd boldly, till the Gun tore others in Pieces, and they retir'd, abandoning the Machine. Still the Fight grew hot about the River, and several Men went out in Boats, and others did Execution thro' the Loop-Holes. The Ensign *John Guerra de Cervantes*, sent out the *Japoneses* and Native Soldiers, and they drew near to the *Parian*, under the Shelter of the Cannon on the Walls, so courageously, that they set fire to the best of it, being the Houses of the *Anhayes*; which quite discourag'd those that were in them, especially when they observ'd they had secur'd the River, and the Boats, and taken their Musquetiers. It was judg'd that above 2500 *Sangleyes* perish'd this Day by Fire and Sword, besides those at the *Candelaria*, and other Straglers. Having lost the Shelter of the *Parian*, they took up in the Church of the *Candelaria*, but the next Morning none of them appear'd. They cross'd the River on Wednesday, and some of our Men were drowned pursuing them too eagerly. They took the Way to the Village call'd *Tabuco*, 5 Leagues from *Manila*, which is very populous, and plentiful. Here Captain *Don Lewis de Velasco* found them fortify'd, and defended with Doors and Boards, towards the Lake *Vay*; whence he ply'd them with small Shot, and kill'd many, they no longer able to endure the Damage they receiv'd, kindled many Fires in the Night, to prevent being observ'd, and march'd away towards *S. Paul's*, a Village 16 Leagues from *Manila*, where they came so thin, that they were not above 6000, having lost very many in the Way to *Tabuco*. There *Don Lewis* fell upon them again; and pursuing them a ter they quitted the Village, was so hot, that they kill'd him four Soldiers, and two bare-foot Fryers, the one a Priest, the other a Lay-Brother.

They made a Halt at *S. Paul's*, intending to reap the Rice, which was then almost Ripe, because that is a forwarder Country than *Pampangus*. Before they came to *S. Paul's*, a Detachment of 1500 of them turn'd off from the main Body towards the Mountains of *Pace*. The *Spaniards* and Natives overtook them, and tho' they stood to it, our Men play'd their Parts so well, that they cut them all off, and recover'd Part of their Booty.

Slaughter
of the Lat-
ter.Their Ma-
chine de-
stroy'd.The Spani-
ards fire
the Pari-
an.Kill 2500
Chineses.

They fly.

And are
pursu'd
with great
Slaughter.Capt. Ve-
lasco kill'd.Another
Slaughter
of Chine-
ses.

Rebels de-
sign to
build
Ships.

The Re-
bels
press'd.

Pampan-
gua de-
scrib'd.

Service
done by
the Al-
cayde of
Pampan-
gua.

The Fort the *Sangleyes* had rais'd at *S. Paul's* was of Palm-Trees, whence they made Excursions to fight, reap the Rice, and ravage the Country. They thought it convenient to divide themselves into two equal Bodies; the one stay'd in the Fort, the other went away to *Katangas*, eleven Leagues distant towards the Sea-Coast, with a Design, as was thought, to build Ships, for which Purpose they carry'd Carpenters, Labourers, Tools, Nails, and all other Necessaries. The Governour reflecting on their Design, sent some vigilant Persons towards the Bay of *Katangas*, to secure the Vessels on the Coast, that the Enemy might not make use of them, and get over to other Islands, which would have been of ill Consequence.

The Governour believing the Design of the *Sangleyes* was to gain Time, and perhaps to expect some Supplies from *China*, which might be promis'd by the *Mandarines*, before they went away; he thought it requisite to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion, because the Enemy fortify'd themselves daily, and made Excursions from their Forts, to scour the Country, and gather in the Rice; perswading the Natives to joyn with them; tho' they were so far from complying, that they kill'd all they could meet with. There were several other Reasons which prov'd that the greatest Safety consisted in Expedition, and therefore abundance of *Spaniards* and Natives, by the Governour's Order, were always in Quest of the straggling *Chinofes*. However it was judg'd expedient to press them yet nearer, and not allow them Time, as they wish'd, till the Rice was ripe, since Hunger must prove their greatest Enemy. To this Purpose it was thought Expedient to make use of trusty neighbouring People.

Pampangua is a Province ten Leagues from *Manila*, beyond the Town of *Tondo*, over the River *Pasig*, on which the Citizens have convenient small Vessels. The Country is subject to be overflow'd, by reason of the many Rivers, and because the Natives draw Trenches from them, to water the Rice, and other Grain. The whole District is of twelve Leagues, all inhabited, and has seven Churches, belonging to the Order of *S. Augustin*. The Natives are Brave, Docile and Loyal, receive the Christian Faith, and are steadfast in it; and richer than those of other Parts of the Island. Captain *Ferdinand de Avalos* was *Alcalde mayor*, or chief Governour of *Pampangua*, and the Governour General having acquainted him by Letter with the Rebellion of the *Sangleyes*, requiring him to send Provisions and Arms for the War, and not to leave any Enemies behind, he perform'd both Things, with extraordinary Care. He furnish'd him with great Store of Rice, Palm-Wine, and a considerable Number of Cows and Calves; and took above 400 *Sangleyes*, who being carry'd to a Creek in the River, bound two and two, and deliver'd to the *Japoneses*, they slew them all. *F. James de Guevara* of the Order of *S. Augustin*, Prior of *Manila*, who writ this Relation, preach'd to them first, and only five of them forsook their Idolatry, and were baptiz'd. At the same Time he sent the Governour 4000 *Pampanguos*, arm'd after their Country Fashion, with Bows, Arrows, Half-Pikes, Shields, and long broad Poniards. They came to *Manila* with great Shouts, and as if sure of Victory, fell upon the Enemy, who increas'd still, the more they were destroy'd.

This obliged the Governour, notwithstanding some Opposition, to send a Number of *Spaniards*, and *Japoneses*, with a strong Party of the *Pampangua* Indians,

Indians, well arm'd and provided, under the Command of the Captain and Major *Azcuetta*, a brave and vigilant Commander, well acquainted with the Country, ordering him to draw near the Enemy; yet not to engage, because they were a desperate barbarous People in their first Onsets, but to alarm them Day, and Night, on every Side, obstructing their Excursions, that so they might want Provisions, and consequently be oblig'd to dislodge, for if he could remove them but twice, he might cut them off, as it happen'd accordingly. The Major departed *Manila*, with these Orders, by the Way of the River. On *Munday* the 20th of *October*, he came in Sight of the Enemy, who was still in the Fort at *S. Paul's*, and there he had some Actions. Having cast up some Works, for his greater Security, in the Quarters he took up, the Enemy's sally'd out of their Fort, and some of those who valu'd themselves on their Bravery advanc'd to fight the *Spaniards* in their Posts, with as much Boldness, as could be expected from Men in Despair, and quite distracted. Thus being cut off from Water, streightned, often alarm'd, never suffer'd to rest, and such as ventur'd out cut off, they dismay'd, and dislodg'd in the Night very silently, marching towards *Batangas*, where their other Body was. However their Departure could not be conceal'd from the Vigilancy of our Men, who march'd after them, *Martin de Herrera*, Captain of the Governours Guard, leading the Van, which consisted of *Spaniards*, and the bravest of the Natives. He overtook the Enemy, and began to fall so hard upon their Rear, that they were forc'd to face about; and after killing above 800 of them as they pass'd a narrow but deep River, our main Body coming up attack'd the rest three several Ways, on an Eminency they had taken, and slew above 1000 more; those that escap'd perishing the next Day, so that only one was taken alive, tho' the Governour would have had many sav'd to serve in the Gallies; but the *Japoneses* and Natives are so bloody, that neither his Orders, nor Major *Azcuetta's* Severity, or the other Commanders could curb them.

Major Azcuetta sent against the Chineses.

He cuts off one entire Body of them.

The Men retired that Day, having travel'd above five Leagues over Grounds full of Sedges, and Bogs; and prepar'd to proceed to *Batangas*, to fight the other Body of Rebels, carrying some Fields Pieces. The Major had dismiss'd the *Japoneses*, because they, alledging they were not Soldiers in Pay, would return to *Manila*. He had only 50 Soldiers left with him, and found the Enemy well fortify'd, and furnish'd with Provisions, as having been Masters of the Country. He spoke to them in peaceable Manner, as he had done before to the other Party, offering good Terms, if they would submit to the Governour; but Obstinacy had stopp'd their Ears, and excluded all Hopes, so that they would not admit of any Accommodation. Our Men drew near, three several Ways with their small Shot, and the *Pampangua Indians*, who were brave, supported by the *Spaniards*, who led and encourag'd them, attack'd the Fort; but the Defendants behav'd themselves so bravely, that they caus'd them to retire, with the Loss of four or five *Pampanguos* kill'd, and some wounded. Our Men came on again, and the Captain of the Guards, who Commanded that Attack, with the Men under his Charge, and others that joyn'd him, fell on with such Fury, that they enter'd the Fort, and put them to the Sword. About 600 escap'd of whom they made an End a few Days after. Some few above a Hundred were saved, who were carry'd alive to serve in the Gallies. Of our Men eight Natives

Offersthose at Batangas Terms.

Destroys them all.

Natives and six *Japoneses* were kill'd in those two Actions; but never a *Spaniard*, tho' many were wounded, and among them the Captain of the Guards, who had both his Thighs run through across with a Lance.

Encan and others Executed. On the 22d *Encan*, otherwise call'd *Baptist*, was executed, being hang'd and quarter'd, his Head set up in the *Parian*, and his Goods confiscated. The following Days the like Justice was executed on other guilty *Chineses*; and had the Laws of their own Country been observ'd, the same Punishment had been inflict'd on their whole Families and Kindred.

End of the Chinese Rebellion. Thus was that Conflagration suppress'd, which threatned the utter Ruin of the *Philippine* Islands, and thus above 23000 *Chineses* perish'd, few above 500 being left for the Gallies, and all those Isles being restor'd to unexpected Peace. Some affirm, the Number of the *Sangleyes* slain was greater, but that the Magistrates conceal'd it, for fear Notice should be taken of their Fault in admitting so many to live in the Country, contrary to the King's Prohibition; yet in vain does Subtilty contend with Truth.

Ill Effects of the Chinese Rebellion. *Don Pedro* had receiv'd some Intelligence of his Majesties approving of the Enterprize on the *Moluccos*; and whilst he expected to see the Effect of that Resolution, writ all the Ways he could; as also through *India*, to sollicit those who were commission'd in that Affair. Being deliver'd of the Trouble of the *Sangleyes*, he bent his Mind to provide all Necessaries for the Fleet, against he should be commanded to set out; but the End of this War, was the Beginning of other Difficulties at *Manila*. All Handicrafts ceas'd, Works were lay'd aside, and Provisions grew scarce; which Scarcity made all Things dear; whereas before there was Abundance, all Things laborious being done by the *Sangleyes*, by Reason that the Native *Indians* are neither willing, nor industrious at such Affairs. They had quite laid aside tilling the Land; breeding of Fowl, and weaving of Blankets, all which they formerly us'd to do, in the Time of their Infidelity. The *Parian* or *Chinese* Quarter was particularly ruin'd with Fire and Sword. That Place us'd to be so plentiful and advantageous, that when *Don Pedro* came first to *Manila*, he writ concerning it to a Kinsman of his in *Spain*, as follows.

Wealth of the Parian. *This City is remarkable for stately Buildings, which have astonish'd me. I shall only mention one Particular, which is the chiefest, That it has a Suburb, or Quarter, full of all Sorts of Silks, and Gold, and Mechanick Trades, and 400 Shops full of this Sort, with above 8000 Men generally dealing in them; and at the Time when Fleets come from China with Merchandize, which is at this Season there are always above 13 or 14000 Men. They bring extraordinary Things, such as are not in Europe.* *Don Pedro* was also afraid that the Slaughter lately made would obstruct the Trade, and that the Ships would not come as usual, with Provisions, from *China*. But the greater and more general Apprehension was that instead of Merchants, Ships of War would come to revenge the *Sangleyes*. He therefore sent away *F. James de Guevara*, Prior of *Manila*, into *Spain*, by the Way of *India*, with an Account of what had been done, and of his Fears. The many Accidents that befell him in *India*, *Persia*, *Turkey*, and *Italy*, made him spend three Years before he came to Court, where he then found other fresher Intelligence.

At the same Time *Don Pedro* sent Captain *Mark de la Cueva*, with *F. Lewis Gandullo*, a *Dominican*, to *Macao*, a City in *China*, where the *Portugueses*

gueses reside, with Letters for the Commander in Chief and Council of that City, giving them an Account of the Rebellion of the *Sangleys*, and the Event of it, that they, upon any Rumour of a Fleet providing in *China*, might send him Notice of it several Ways. They had also Letters for the *Tuto-nes*, or *Tsuntos*, *Ahytaos*, and Visitors of the Provinces of *Canton*, and *Chincheo*, acquainting them with the Guilt of the *Chineses*, which oblig'd the *Spaniards* to punish them so severely. The Messengers at their Arrival, found all the Country peaceably dispos'd, notwithstanding that some *Sangleys* flying from *Manila* in *Champanes*, had given an Account of their Commotions. The Coming of these *Spaniards* to *Macao* was soon known at *Chincheo*, and presently some of the richest Captains, who us'd *Manila* most, came to visit them; their Names were *Guanfan*, *Sinu*, and *Guachuan*. They being fully inform'd of the Truth of the Fact, took upon them to deliver the Letters *Don Pedro* sent to the *Mandarines*, who receiv'd them by their Means. The Merchants of *Chincheo* took Courage to trade in the *Philippine* Islands, and sail'd in their own Ships from *Macao*, with our Messengers, carrying Abundance of Powder, Saltpeter, and Lead, werewith the publick *Magazines* were stor'd. In *May* following 13 *Chinese* Ships arriv'd at *Manila*, and many more after them, continuing that Trade.

Message to China.

Chineses trade again at Manila.

spanish Ship loss.

Don Pedro sent the Ships that had brought Supplies from the Islands, to *New Spain*; The Commodore of them was cast away, and not a Man nor a Plank sav'd. He ceas'd not at the same Time to store the City with Provisions and Ammunition, that he might be at Leisure to undertake the Expedition against the *Moluccos*. Now arriv'd Colonel *John de Esquivel*, from *Mexico*, with 600 Soldiers, and Intelligence that farther Provision was making in *New Spain* of Men, Stores, Ammunition, and Money, by the King's Order. All came in due Season to *Manila*; and there at that Time dy'd the Arch-Bishop *Don Miguel de Benavides*, generally lamented by all the Country. The *Chinese* Ships that came again to trade, brought the Governour the Answers to his Letters, contain'd in three others, all to the same Effect, from the *Tuton*, or *Tsunto*, that is, the Viceroy, the *Hayton*, and the Visitor General of the Province of *Chincheo*. Being translated by the Interpreters, they were found to this Effect.

Esquivel with 600 Men at Manila from New Spain.

Chinese Letter to the Governour.

To the Chief Commander of *Luzon*. Having understood that the *Chineses* that went to Trade and Traffick in the Kingdom of *Luzon*, have been kill'd by the *Spaniards*, I have inquir'd into the Cause of that Slaughter, and intreated the King to do Justice, on those who had been the Occasion of so much Mischief, that the like may be prevented for the future, and the Merchants enjoy Peace and Quietness. Some years since, before I came hither as Visitor, a *Sangley*, whose Name was *Tioneg*, went over to *Cabit*, in *Luzon*, with three *Mandarines*, and the King's Leave, to seek for Gold and Silver, which was all a Cheat; for he found neither Gold nor Silver, and therefore I beseech'd the King to punish that Deceiver, *Tioneg*, that the World might see how impartially Justice is administer'd in *China*. It was in the Time of the late Viceroy, and Eunuch, that *Tioneg* and his Companion, whose Name was *Yanlion*, told the said Lye. Since then I intreated the King to cause all the Papers relating to *Tioneg's* Case, to be copy'd, and the said *Tioneg*, and the Proceedings against him, to be lay'd before his Majesty, and I my self saw those Papers, and was sensible that all the said *Tioneg* had said was

Discovery of the Cheat of the three Mandarines above.

Chinese
punish'd
for Fals-
hood.

was a Lie. I writ to acquaint the King that the Castillas suspected we intended to make War on them, on Account of the Lyes Tioneg had told, and therefore they had slain above 30000 Chinese at Luzon. The King did what I desir'd, and accordingly punish'd the aforesaid Yanlion, ordering him to be put to Death; and caus'd Tioneg's Head to be cut off, and hung up in a Cage. The Chinese that Dy'd at Luzon were not to blame, and I, and some others have acquainted the King with so much; as also with the coming of two English Ships upon these Coasts of Chincheo, a Thing very dangerous for China, that the King may resolve what is to be done in two Affairs of such Consequence. We also Writ to the King, to order two Sangleyes to be punish'd, for having shown the Harbour to the English. And after having Writ as aforesaid to the King, he answer'd, What did the English Ships come into China for? Whether they came to Rob? That they should be order'd to depart thence immediately to Luzon; and to tell those of Luzon that they should not give Credit to the wicked and lying Persons among the Chinese; and that they should immediately kill the two Sangleyes. As for the rest we writ to him about, he answer'd that we should do our Wills. The Viceroy, the Eunuch and I, after receiving this Order, do now send these our Letters to the Governour of Luzon, that his Lordship may be acquainted with the Grandeur of the King of China; for he is so Great that he governs all the Sun and Moon shine on; as also that the Governour of Luzon may know how well this so large Kingdom is govern'd, whose King none has dar'd to offend this long Time. And tho' the Japonese have attempted to disturb Corea, which belongs to the Government of China, that have not succeeded; but have been expell'd thence, and Corea has remain'd very peaceable and quiet, as is well known by Fame to the People of Luzon.

Japonese
expell'd
Corea.

Spaniards
charg'd
with the
Slaughter
of the
Chinese.

The last Year, when we were inform'd, that so many Chinese were slain at Luzon, on the Account of Tioneg's falsehood, we met many Mandarines of us to agree to propose to the King, that he would revenge so great a Slaughter. We said, that the Land of Luzon is poor, of no Value, and that formerly it was the Habitation of none but Devils and Snakes; and that so many Sangleyes having of late Years gone to Trade with the Castillas, they are now grown so great; the said Sangleyes having labour'd so much there, building Walls, and Houses, making Gardens, and other Things very Advantageous to the Castillas. And since this is so, why had not the Castillas consider'd these Things, nor been grateful for these good Turns, but on the contrary so cruelly destroy'd so many Men? And tho' we, two or three Times, Writ to the King as above, he being Angry for the aforesaid Things, answer'd us, That it was not convenient to take Revenge, nor make War on the People of Luzon, for three Reasons. First, Because the Castillas have for many Years past, been Friends to the Chinese. Secondly, Because it could not be known, whether the Victory would fall to the Castillas, or the Chinese. Thirdly, and lastly, Because the People kill'd by the Castillas were base, and ungrateful to their Native Country of China, their Parents and Kindred, since they had not return'd to China in so many Years; which People the King said he did not much value, for the aforesaid Reasons; and he only order'd the Viceroy, the Eunuch, and me to Write this Letter by the Ambassador; that the People of Luzon may know the King of China has a great

great Soul is very Patient and Merciful, since he has not order'd War to be made on the Inhabitants of Luzon. And his Justice will appear, by his causing the Falshood of Tione to be punish'd. And since the Spaniards are a discreet People, how can they not be troubled for having kill'd so many Men; and repent of it, and be kind to the Chineses that are left. For if the Castillas bear the Chineses good Will, and restore the Sangleyes that have remain'd of the War, and pay the Money that is due, and restore the Goods taken from the Sangleyes, there will be Amity betwixt this Kingdom, and that, and Trading Ships shall go every Year; otherwise the King will not give Leave for any Ships to trade; but on the contrary will cause 1000 Ships of War to be built, with Soldiers, and Kindred of the slain, and with other Nations, and Kingdoms that pay Homage to China, and will make War without sparing any Person, and then the Kingdom of Luzon shall be given to those People that pay Acknowledgement to China. The Visitor General's Letter was writ on the 12th of the second Month, which, according to our Reckning, is March; the Eunuchs on the 16th, and the Viceroy on the 22d of the same Month and Year.

The Governour return'd an Answer to these Letters by the same Messengers, in Terms full of Civility, and Authority. He gave an Account of the Rebellion of the Sangleyes from its first Rise; justifying the Spaniards for their natural Defence, and the Punishment they had inflicted on the Criminals. He tells them, no State can subsist without punishing the Wicked, or rewarding the Good; and therefore he does not repent that Execution, because it was to suppress those that would have destroy'd us. That the Visitor ought to consider what he would do, in Case the like had happen'd to him in China. That the only Thing which troubled him was, that he could not save some Sangley Merchants *Anbeyes*, who dy'd among the guilty; but that it was not possible to prevent it, because the severity of War will not allow the killing of some, and exempting of others; especially, they not being known by the Soldiers in the Heat of Action. That using Mercy towards those that were taken alive, he condemn'd them to row in the Gallies, the Punishment substituted among the Castillas for such as deserve Death. Yet if it should be thought in China that it ought to be moderated, they shall be set at Liberty. But let it be consider'd, said *Don Pedro*, that the not punishing of so heinous an Offence, may be the Occasion of their falling into it again, which would exclude all Mercy. The Goods of the Chineses that were kill'd are safe laid up, and to show I had no other Motive, but the Execution of Justice, I will order them to be immediately deliver'd to their Heirs, or to such Persons, as they of Right belong to. Nothing but Justice inclines me to any of these Things. Your saying, that unless I release the Prisoners, there will be Leave granted in China to the Kindred of the slain in the Rebellion, to come in Arms to Manila, does not move me in the least; because I take the Chineses to be so wise, that they will not go upon such Undertakings upon a slight Occasion; especially, when no Provocation has been given them on our Side. And in Case they should be of another Mind there, we Spaniards are Men that know how to defend our Right, our Religion, and our Territories. Let not the Chineses think they are Lords of the World, as they pretend; for we Castillas, who have measur'd every Foot of it, very well know the Lands of the Chineses; and therefore

The Governours Answer, to the Mandarines.

they ought to understand, that the King of *Spain* maintains Wars with Kings as powerful as theirs, and checks, and gives them much Trouble. Nor is it any Thing new with us, when our Enemies think they have brought us under, to be wasting and destroying their Lands, and never give over till we have cast them out of their Thrones, and wrested their Scepters out of their Hands. I should be very sorry the Commerce should be interrupted; but at the same Time, believe the *Chineses* are not willing to lose it, since it is so advantageous to them, for they carry Home our Silver, which never wastes, in Exchange for their Commodities, which are slight Things, soon spoil'd. It was discreetly done, not to admit the *English* Ships that appear'd upon the Coast, for they are not *Spaniards*, but their Enemies, and Pyrates; for which Reason they should have been punish'd, had they come to *Manila*. To conclude, for as much as we *Spaniards* always justify our Proceedings, and value our selves upon the Worlds not being able to say, we Usurp the Right of others, or make War on our Friends, what is here promis'd shall be perform'd. And the *Chineses* may take Notice, for the future, that we never do any Thing out of Fear, or on Account of our Enemies Threats. *Don Pedro* concludes, offering the Continuation of Friendship, upon new Assurances of Peace, with the Kingdom of *China*; saying, he would, at the proper Time, give Liberty to their Prisoners he had in the Gallies; Tho' he design'd first to make Use of them, and did so in his Expedition to the *Moluccos*, which he was then preparing for; and all this was punctually perform'd.

The Em-
perour of
Japan's
Letter.

He receiv'd other Letters at the same Time, from the Emperor of *Japan*, wherein, after returning him Thanks for a Present of Wine of Grapes, which *Don Pedro* had sent him, with other Things of Value, he Encourag'd him to Trade, and desir'd he would not send him any Christian Preachers, without his Consent. For, says he, this Country is call'd *Xincoco*, which signifies, *Dedicated to Idols*; which have been honour'd with much Commendation by our Fore-Fathers, whose Actions I alone can not reverse, and therefore it is not convenient that your Law be spread abroad, or preach'd in *Japan*; and if your Lordship is willing to entertain Amity with me, and these Kingdoms, do as I would have you. So says the *Japonesse*. *Don Pedro* answer'd and appeas'd him, so that the preaching was continu'd in his Dominions.

Dutch
Squadron.

This same Year 1604, the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, according to their Custom, fitted out a Squadron of twelve tall Ships, well equip'd, with some smaller Vessels, and, as if they had been Lords of the Winds and of the Seas, set Sail for *India*, the known Way, arriving prosperously, in a short Time, at the Cape of *Good Hope*. All the Captains had been there before, and the Pilots valu'd themselves upon no less Experience. The Admiral was *Stephen Drage*. Beginning to visit their Forts, and Factories, in Order to take some Prizes, as well as Trade, they met with two small Ships, loaden with Ivory, at the Bar of *Mozambique*. They chas'd them, and tho' they fled amain, being pursu'd with no less Swiftness, the *Dutch* Robbers overtook, and after a sharp Engagement enter'd them. They burnt the one, and mann'd the other, which was a Reinforcement to prosecute their Robberies. All those Kings, and the Commanders of our Forts, receiv'd them as Friends. In *September*, they came to the Bar of *Goa*; and lay 15 Days at *Rardes*, in as much Security as if they had been at *Amsterdam*, expecting
the

Takes two
Portugues
Ships.

the *India Ships*. Thence they sent away a Ship to *Cambaya*, to exchange the Ivory they had not long before robb'd our People of, acting not like Pyrates, but Merchants who dispose of the Wealth they pick up by Trade, and succeeded prosperously in all their Undertakings. They sent two more Ships to *Bengula*, with other Commodities; all which return'd in due Time considerably enrich'd. Perceiving that no Power oppos'd them, they sail'd down the Coast of *Malabar*, trading wheresoever they thought fit, and took another *Portuguese Vessel*, call'd a *Foist*, which had 21 Oars; and after unlading the Booty, they fitted her up their Way, and took her along with them.

And a
Foist.

After this they bent their Thoughts upon greater Matters, to which End they sent an Embassy to the *Zamori*, which Name imports as much as *Cesar* among us, and he is King of *Calicut*, a Friend and Confederate with the *Dutch*. Having agreed upon an Interview, they fell to Trade, and whilst the rest attended Commerce, and private Gain, the Admiral consult'd about State Affairs, concerting to carry on the War against the *Spaniards*, and more particularly the *Portugueses*. They settled the Time, and the Forces they were to joyn for that Effect. Then they diverted themselves with Feasting and Treats. At one of which, by way of Farewel, *Zamori* gave Admiral *Drage* an Emerald, thought to be the largest and beautifullest in the World. They went on, and took some Prizes on the Coast of *Java*, and among them a small Ship, in which were *Don Manuel de Melo*, Commander in Chief of the *Moluccos*, and his Wife, who was oblig'd to fight as well as her Husband, and yet they could not escape Captivity. The nearer they drew to *Ternate*, the more considerable Encounters they had, for in Sight of *Amboyna* they fell in with a Frigate coming from the *Moluccos* to Anchor in that Island, which they took, and in her Captain *Antony Machado*, her Commander. They stay'd at *Amboyna*, hoping to recover what they had lost, either by Treachery, or Force. The Year 1605 had now commenced, and they began their Work on the 23d of *February*.

Zamori
signifies
Cesar.

Joins with
the Dutch.

They
take a
Portuguese
Frigate at
Amboyna.

Eight Ships and six Tenders enter'd the Port, and the Fort was surrender'd to them without much Difficulty, or Opposition. They also possess'd themselves of the *Portuguese Colony*. Those People seeing the *Dutch* so strong in Men and Cannon, durst not, nor could they well oppose them. Forty *Portugueses* took an Oath of Fidelity to the Prince of *Orange's* Bastard Son. They put the Commander in Chief into Irons, and deliver'd the Fort to the *Dutch*, alledging, for an Excuse, that they had not Ammunition to defend themselves. There was another greater Mischief, which was, that the Natives favour'd the *Dutch*, as their Deliverers from the *Portuguese Yoke*; and they are well belov'd there, and in all Places where they Trade, because of late they have taken this Course, not to meddle with their Religion, nor so much as mention it, unless, where any will embrace Christianity on their own Accord. They neither wrong'd nor disturb'd any Body; and to show they would always maintain them in that Security, within five Days, they fitted out 40 *Carcoas*, to defend the Natives against any Enemy.

Drage
takes Am-
boyna.

Fits out 40
Carcoas.

The Admiral pick'd out three of the Ships, and went himself with them to the Islands of *Banda*, to load Nutmeg, Mace, and Clove, there and at *Amboyna*. The Fame of this Success, and the Hatred conceiv'd against the *Spaniards*, were so favourable to this Nation, that at this Time the People

Indians
well affect-
ed to the
Dutch.

of *Amboyna*, *Ito*, *I'eranula*, and other Places, had their Embassadors at *Sunda* to expect this Fleet, which came from Home at their Request. Before they set out from *Holland* they had receiv'd Embassadors from the King of *Achem* in *Sumatra*, to the same End. For this Reason the *Dutch* give out, that they come to revenge the Wrongs, the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards* have done to the Natives, and to restore them to their Liberty. The Designs of these perfidious People were no longer a Secret; for the Admiral *Drage* refitted five of his Ships, and sent them to the *Moluccos*, to take the Fort and Kingdom of *Tydore*, the only one that continu'd in Subjection to *Spain*; and it was publicly reported, that the King of *Ternate* would forward the Enterprize with his Ships and Men. The *Dutch* Vice-Admiral sail'd with these Ships stopping by the Way to make his Advantage, take in the Refreshments in their Factories, and lade Pepper, and other Spice. Every Thing succeeded as they could wish, tho' they aspir'd to some Matters which requir'd a greater Power than they brought. They intended to pass by the Streight of *Acapulco*, and there to lie in wait for the Ships belonging to the *Philippines* going and coming, because they knew them to be Rich, and might take them. To this End they delay'd Time, till they could be joyn'd by the two Ships they expected from *Sunda*, laden with Pepper, from that plentiful, and secure Factory of theirs.

The Dutch
prosperous

Materials
for Building in
the Dutch
Ships.
Their Design
against
Malaca.

The English give
the Spaniards Intelligence.

Their just
Dealing
after the
Peace.

Aboard the eight Ships there was great Store of Bricks, Lime, and squared Stones, Wheele-Barrows, and other Tooles and Materials for Building; all which was to be carry'd from the aforesaid Streight, tho' they had already began to build it at *Amboyna*, and landing a considerable Part of those Materials, they left there 130 Soldiers, to carry on the Works, and Garrison the Fort. At the Heels of this Fleet they expected another to lay Siege to *Malaca*; designing from thence to Govern *India*, as the *Portugueses* have done. In Order to this, they had before confederated with the Kings of *Jor*, *Achem*, and *Sunda*, with whose Assistance, and that of other Native *Sangiacks*, they were to overthrow the Power of *Portugal*; for they were resolv'd not to quit *India*, and since its Commodities enrich'd them, they would pay for the Expence of the War; besides, that they were already so wealthy, that even in *Flanders* the Soldiers deserted from the Arch-Duke *Albertus*, to serve them. Notwithstanding this extraordinary Affection, wherewith the *Dutch* are entertain'd in all those Countries, before they came to *Amboyna*, two *English* Ships came to an Anchor near by, and acquainted the Natives, that a *Dutch* Squadron was coming to possess itself of the Island; but bid them not to fear, for it had none but poor scoundrel Men; and therefore they should defend themselves, offering them their Assistance, and acquainting them that the Crowns of *Spain* and *England* were then in Amity; and therefore the Subjects of them both ought to be so of Course. They slighting this favourable Opportunity, chose rather to become Subjects to Prince *Maurice*, and undergo the *Dutch* Yoke. The *English* demanded Clove, and offer'd them their own Price for it, and were so just, that they never joyn'd with the *Dutch*. In short, *Amboyna* remain'd in the Enemies Hands. The People dispers'd, many of them went to *Malaca*, and among the rest, the Commander in chief, *Don Emanuel de Melo*, with some *Portugueses*. Others repair'd to the Island of *Cebu*, part of the *Philippines* and

and other Places, for they had all their Liberty. They all departed *Amboyna* about the middle of *May*, but without their Goods, or Spice; being positively forbid that Trade, the *Dutch* alledging it was all their own.

One of those *English* Ships sailing along those Coasts, and escaping the Ridges of Rocks, got before-hand to the Port of *Tydore*. They call'd the Commander in Chief of the Fort, *Peter Alvarez Abreu*, and inform'd him, that they left the *Dutch* Squadron fortifying the strong Holds at *Amboyna*; and that when they had reduc'd all in those Seas, they would come to fall upon *Tydore*. The Commander in Chief return'd Thanks for that friendly Intelligence; and among other Civilities that pass'd between them, desir'd to know the Motive that induc'd them to show such Kindness. Then the *English* told him, That their Kings were Friends, and to convince him of it, and the Danger he was in, offer'd him as much Ammunition as he stood in need of. They gave him Six Barrels of Powder, 100 Cannon Balls, and a Number of Head-Pieces. This made the *Tydore*s and *Portugueses* begin to fortify themselves, and was the Product of the late Peace.

A Month after, four great *Dutch* Ships, and four Tenders, came to the Island, where two of the King's Galleons lay at Anchor, with the *Portuguese* Ships laden with Goods and Provisions. The *Dutch* Admiral sent the King of *Tydore* Word, That if he would deliver him that Fort, and expell the *Portugueses*, he would be his Friend; and desiring he would not start any Difficulties, since he might easily do it, being a peaceable King in his own Dominions; besides that, they had Men and Strength enough aboard that Squadron, to force them to consent to what they now courteously demanded. The King of *Tydore* sent him a Cow, and answer'd, That he neither could, nor ought to put the *Portugueses* out of their Forts, nor to admit of any other Nation in their Place, till they had either voluntarily, or by Force of Arms, abandon'd their Possession. That whilst they two decided the Quarrel, he would look on as Neuter. The *Portuguese* Commander in Chief, understanding what Messages pass'd, interrupted them, sending to let the *Dutch* Men know. That it was in vain to talk of surrendering the Fort, whilst he was alive, and present. That he was to treat with him, and the marry'd Men that liv'd in it about that Affair.

Being come to this Resolution, the next Morning the *Dutch* Ships remov'd, and went to board the *Portugueses* that were at *Tydore*, two Cannon Shot from the Fort. They fought above two Hours, and so constant was Fortune to one Side, that in so short a Time, the *Portugueses* that remain'd alive were fain to throw themselves into the Sea, and their Galleons were taken, one of which they immediately burnt. The next Day another Message was sent to *Tydore*, wherein the *Dutch* directed the King to propose the surrendering of the Fort to the *Portugueses*, and he would give them the Galleon he had spar'd, to carry them and their Effects, wheresoever they should think fit. The *Portugueses* taking Courage, where others would be dismay'd, answer'd, That the Loss of the Galleons had not daunted them; for they would rather dye all of them, than deliver up the Fort. The *Dutch* durst not batter it alone, but resolv'd to joyn the King of *Ternate*, who was already set out with abundance of Carcoas to that Effect. They met him a League from the Fort, and spending little Time

Four
Dutch
Ships at
Tydore.

Their Mes-
sage to the
King.

His An-
swer.

Bravery of
the Portu-
guese Com-
mander.

Dutch
take two
Galleons.

Bold An-
swer of the
Portugue-
ses.

Dutch and
Ternates
joyn and
burn a
Town.

Time in Ceremonies return'd together, burning a Town of *Tydore* by the Way, came the next Morning before the Fort.

Batter the
Fort and
are reput-
ed.

The Fort
burnt.

Tydore
taken by
the Dutch.

They landed 800 *Dutch* and *Ternate* Soldiers, and having made a Trench with Barrells fill'd with Earth, batter'd the Fort for three Days from that Work, with two Pieces of Cannon. At the same Time they play'd upon it from their Ships, firing above 1500 Shot. The third Day they drew nearer; and the fourth in the Morning began to batter more furiously. They kill'd the Constable of the Castle, and in the midst of the Confusion, the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch*, that were ashore, advanc'd, drawing the Cannon under the very Fort, having surpriz'd the *Portugueses*, and falling on them unexpectedly. They soon recovering themselves, attack'd the *Dutch* afresh, who turning their Backs, behav'd themselves so basely, that they ran into the Water; abandoning the Guns they had ashore. In the Height of this Success, many *Dutch* being slain, and only four *Portugueses*, on a sudden they spy'd all the Fort in a Flame, which roar'd from the Ground to the Tops of the Houses, till a considerable Part was blown up, and almost all the rest consum'd, and lay'd flat. Six and twenty *Portugueses* were burnt, and it could never be discover'd or guess'd, how, or which Way the Powder was set a fire, to cause that mighty Destruction. The *Portugueses*, who just before were joyful for their Victory, having no Walls to shelter them, were forc'd to retire to the City of *Tydore*, and the *Dutch* and *Ternates* rallying, pursu'd them thither. The King receiv'd them in friendly Manner, and he himself went the same Day aboard the *Dutch* Ship that lay at Anchor before it, and calling the *Dutch* Admiral, propos'd to him the Affair of the Fort, and that if those who defended it had Ships allow'd them, they would go away to other Parts. He agreed to it, and though it cost the *Portugueses* all they had, they accepted of three small Tenders, a Galliot that had been the King's, and a *Dutch* Tender to secure them against the *Ternates*. The *Dutch* settled Amity with the King of *Tydore*; that they should continue in his Dominions; and erect Factories, and Trade for *Clove*, as the *Portugueses* had done. Thus the Conquer'd having bought some Ships dispers'd themselves about those Islands. Many of them went to the *Philippines*, where *Don Pedro*, the Governour, examin'd them, in order to get Information concerning the *Moluccos*.

Dutch' de-
sign to take
the Ships
of the Phi-
lippines.

Silva gives
Intelli-
gence of it.

Antony de Silva, a *Portuguese*, was one of them that escap'd from the Fort of *Ternate*, and came to the Town of *Arevalo* in the *Philippines*. Besides being a Soldier, he was also a *Nagatato*, or Interpreter. This Man gave an Authentick Relation of that Affair, and added, That being brought Prisoner from *Ambogna*, the *Dutch* Admiral having a Sea-Chart before him, look'd for *Mindoro*, *Manila*, and for *Cabite*; and being ask'd by *Silva*, why he look'd for it, was inform'd, That his Design was, in Case he did not succeed at the *Moluccos*, to try to take some of the Ships that trade betwixt *New Spain*, and the *Philippines*. *Silva* reply'd, That he had not Time to meet either; because those that come to the *Philippines* arrive about the 10th of *May*, and the others set out on the 10th of *June*. However that was the Design of the *Dutch* Admiral, who intended to get Intelligence at *Mindoro*, thence to sail to *Macao*, send an Ambassador into *China*, and revenge the Wrong *Don Pablos de Portugal* had done them

them in those Countries. Then to load Pepper at *Patane*; next at the Streight of *Sincapura*, to endeavour to take the *Chinese* Ships that resort to *Malaca*; and whatever happen'd, to hold on his Voyage to *Holland* that Way, loaden with Treasure. All this the *Dutch* Admiral communicated to *Antony de Silva*, as to one that was to go with him into *Holland*, because he was a Soldier, and able Interpreter in both Languages; and therefore *Stephen Drage* made much of him. This Intelligence was confirm'd by some others, who had fought and escap'd the Slaughter at *Tydore*. *Don Pedro* hearing so much, was concern'd, as a Man zealous for the Church, and for his King; and it griev'd him to consider, that the Crown of *Spain* had not a Foot of Land left it in the *Moluccos*; and that a Rebel was in quiet Possession of them all.

All the
Moluccos
lost to
Spain.

Prosperity having embolden'd, and strengthen'd the *Dutch*, *Don Pedro* assembling his Council of War, order'd that the Captains *Antony Freyle*, Commander of the Squadron belonging to the *Pintados*, *Peter Sevil*, *Stephen de Alcazar*, and *Bernardine Alfonso*, should repair to the Forts of the *Pintados*, and other Islands that were in Danger, with their Companies. He refitted the Ships, and prepar'd his Cannon, as being so near a victorious Enemy, who so successfully put in Execution all their Threats. *Antony de Sylva* show'd an Original Letter, written by another *Dutch* Admiral at the Island of *Borneo*, to the King of *Ternate*, and sent by *Philip Bissehop*, Captain of a Ship, with a Present of a Quantity of fine *Holland*; Six Bales of several Vessels with Musk; Twelve Bottles of Rose-Water; Six Pounds of *Dutch Anison*, that is, Opium, which, as has been said, disturbs the Senses, and is us'd by those People to encourage them to fight; and six Barrels of Powder. He gave him an Account of *Andrew Furtado's* unfortunate Voyage, the Obstacles, Storms, and Enemies he had met with, since his Departure from *Ternate*, till he came to *Malaca*. He gave him the Title of Most Serene Prince, and Potent King of the *Moluccos*, *Bandas*, *Amboyna*, and innumerable other Islands. He congratulated with him for the Event of his Arrival at the *Moluccos*; promising he would return to *Ternate* with a greater Power, he expected from *Holland*, and take Possession of the Forts, to extirpate the common Enemy, the King of *Spain*; and encourag'd him with these Hopes, to hold out till then. He assur'd him, that he should scour all those Seas from the *Moluccos*, and extend his Dominions as far as *China*, without being hinder'd by the *Philippines* or *Japoneses*. To this End, he desired him to renew his Friendship with *Mindanao*, and to acquaint the King of those Islands, that he was a Friend to the *Dutch*, so to give them Admittance to those Ports, Freedom of Trade, and amicable Entertainment, as was requisite for their Undertakings; this being a Thing most Expedient, above all other Politick Considerations. He added, he might observe, and be assur'd, that nothing was so little regarded in *Spain*, as to contrive that their many Provinces should preserve some Sort of Union. That therefore all those which are very remote, and subject to that Crown, ought to take much Notice of the great Delays there, in coming to a Resolution, and sending Succours from *Spain*; because before they believe, or examine the News brought them in order to believe them, Affairs have taken a new Turn, and consequently neither the *Spanish* Councils, nor their Arms come seasonably. That Experience

Don Pedro's Precautions.

Dutch Letters and Presents sent to the King of Ternate.

had

had made most of these Things known to his Highness, and his Zeal for his Service oblig'd him to mention them. *Antony de Silva*, added, that he was very sure the King of *Ternate* had not omitted doing any Thing of what the *Dutch* Man recommended to him; and that he had already propos'd to his People to go abroad to fight, far from their own Islands. Tho' it was never apprehended he would do so, yet at that Time it much troubled *Don Pedro*, because he was so spent with the Affair of the *Sangleys*, the Want of whom he labour'd so to supply, that no such Mischief might happen again, it being so necessary to support the Trade of the *Philippines* another Way, and procure safety at Home in Order to make War, and keep up a Reputation.

Men, Money, &c. arrive at Manila from New Spain.

Management of the Governor.

Time, which sometimes gives Hope, and sometimes Dispair, comforted *Don Pedro* in his Affliction, bringing in a few Months after some Ships of private Persons from *New Spain*, and then in due Season the usual Fleet. They arriv'd at *Manila*, on the Eve of *S. Matthias*, and in them the *Spaniards* sent from *Spain*, for the Expedition of *Ternate*, with above 200 more from the *Marquess de Montesclaros*, Viceroy of *New Spain*, as also the other Necessaries, and Money, pursuant to the King's Order. Part of this came committed to Brother *Gaspar Gomez*, who was receiv'd with incredible Joy. He deliver'd all his Letters to the Governour, and immediate Care was taken to quarter the Officers and Soldiers, and to distribute them speedily, so that all Men might believe there was no other Design in their coming, but the Security of the *Philippine* Islands, threatened by the Emperor of *Japan*, and the Conspiracies of the *Sangleys*. This Report was industriously so given out, that it might fly and spread abroad without the Kingdom, lest they might receive any Intelligence, who had cause to fear. Besides that, as the Fame of those great Preparations was Advantageous to the *Spaniards* in Point of Reputation, so the Reality of the Power they had, added to the Opinion conceiv'd, prov'd the Defence and Security of them all. In *Japan*, only the News that *Manila* was full of Men, and Ships of War, allay'd, or quite banish'd the Disgust of that King, on Account of *Don Pedro's* refusing him Ship-Wrights. The People of *Chincheo* also forbore meditating Revenge against an Enemy, whose Victories were back'd with such Succours. *Don Pedro* consider'd all these Particulars, and each of them made him conclude, that he might with Safety be absent for some Time from *Manila*. However the King of *Ternate* overjoy'd that he had shaken off the *Spanish* Yoke, made little Account of all that was told him, concerning its Neighbouring Kingdoms, believing they would never recover their Ancient Possessions. The *Dutch* Commanders, who were rebuilding the burnt Fort at *Tydore*, sent him a considerable Number of heavy Brass Cannon, of *Drakes*, and Muskets, and he hired some of the *Lageniers*, that came in those Ships, to look to his Fortifications, and reside in them, and in his City. Some accepted of the Habitation, approving of that disorderly, and irreligious Liberty of Life allow'd in that Country; where considering the frequent Resort of Ships from the North, and the many Factories, they reckon'd themselves as good as at Home, since they could often meet with their Kindred or Friends, or at least with their Country-Men. Banish'd *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* arriv'd daily at the Port of *Oton*, in the *Philippine* Islands, and among

among them *Paul de Lima*, a Person of great Experience, and still General of the Artillery at *Tydore*, who, besides the News of the late Destruction, brought an Account of the Joy wherewith the *Dutch* dug up the Guns he endeavour'd to hide, and how much they were increased in Strength and Shipping. He was receiv'd with much Honour, in regard to his Quality, and because he was one of those who had lost Lands and Goods, taken from him by the King of *Ternate*, and his Information, and Counsel were of Use for what afterwards happen'd. All Men attended the Warlike Preparations, in their several Stations, but with equal Zeal; building Ships, and gathering Provisions, Arms, and Ammunitions; and *Don Pedro* himself was so diligent and vigilant, that he attended the meanest Employments, giving an Example, and encouraging; so that it may be said, he did every Thing, for he ply'd all Hands.

The End of the Ninth Book.

I i

T H E

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
DISCOVERY and CONQUEST
OF THE
Molucco and Philippine Islands, &c.

BOOK. X.

*Want of
Political
Reflections
whence.*

THERE is generally some Moral Instruction, which lies couch'd under the Actions of Men, and which Judicious Writers use to point at in the Relation of Events, as the Advantage of History; but what civil Rules, or Precepts for the forming of the Political Life, can we lay down, in writing the Conquest and Defence of Barbarous Countries, which all depends on Voyages, and reducing of Garrisons; notwithstanding State Craft has somewhat inform'd those Nations? Or what can occur in this Subject, which the Reader may not infer, as a necessary Consequence of the foregoing Discourse? Since then the Matter in Hand does not afford us such Reflection, let us draw to a Conclusion, in Pursuance of our Promise made at the Beginning.

*Yloilo Port
the Ren-
dezvous of
the Navy.*

Don Pedro de Acunna, now Captain General of the Fleet that was assembled in the *Philippine* Islands, at the same time took Care to see it fitted out with Expedition, and to provide for the Security of the Province he was to forsake, that he might go upon that so difficult Undertaking. Some there were, who look'd upon it as Part of *Don Pedro's* good Fortune, that the *Molucco* Islands had been utterly lost, that since he had the more Matter to work upon, his Victory might be the more glorious. He most industriously provided all Things requisite for the Use of War; and even for all the Accidents it might be liable to. The Point, or Promontory of *Yloilo* runs out into the Sea, not far from *Arevalo*, in the Island of *Panay*, forming

forming a Harbour proper and capacious enough to be the Place of Arms, for the Preparations then in Hand. Here the Fleet rendezvous'd, consisting of Six Tall Ships, Six Gallies, Three Galliot, like those they call *Galizabras*, belonging to the Crown of *Portugal*; in one of which was *Peter Alvarez de Abreu*, Commander in Chief of the Fort of *Tydore*; the other two, under the Command of *John Rodriguez Camelo*, Commodore, sent from *Malaca*, by the General *Andrew Furtado de Mendoza*, to be aiding with his Courage and Conduct, and to carry him an Account of the Success. One flat bottom'd Galliot, to land the Artillery, and in it 300 Baskets of Rice. Four Foists built purposely for carrying of Provisions. Two *Champanes* of Ten Tun Burden each, with 1600 Baskets of clean Rice. Two *Dutch Long-Boats*, which carry'd over the *Portugueses* when the Fort of *Tydore* was lost. Seven Frigats belonging to the King, and Seven more to private Persons, and the like Number of *Champanes*, in all 36 Sail.

Particulars of the Fleet.

Colonel *John de Esquivel* brought 12 Companies of *Spanish Foot*; four whereof were rais'd in *Andaluzia*, being his own, and those of the Captains, *Paul Garrucho*, *Peter Sevil*, and *Luke de Vergara Gavia*. Six came from *New Spain*, under the Captains *Don Roderick de Mendoza*, Son to *Don John de Raza y Castilla*, and to *Donna Maria de Mendoza*, and by her Grandson to the Marquess of *Montesclaros*, and therefore, out of Respect to his Kinsman, the Viceroy of *New Spain*, he came out of *Italy* to serve his Majesty in the *Philippine Islands*; the others were Captain *Pascual de Alarcon Pacheco*, *Martin de Esquivel*, *Bernardine Alfonso*, *Peter Delgado*, and *Stephen de Alcazar*. Two other Companies commanded by the Captains *John Guerra de Cervantes*, and *Christopher de Villagra*, belong'd to the Forces of *Manila*, and the Province of the *Pintados*. All which, with their Officers, make up 1423 *Spaniards*. Under the Colonel *Don Guillermo*, and the Captains *Don Francis Palaor*, *Don John Lit*, *Don Lewis and Augustin Lout*, 344 *Pampangua*, and *Tagalo* Indians; besides 620 others of the same Nations, for the Sea and Land Service, and 649 Rowers. All the Men in the Fleet, besides the General's Household and Family, amount to 3095; with 75 Pieces of Cannon of all Sorts, and all other Perquisites for Sea, Landing, Fight, and Battery.

The Land Forces.

1423 Spaniards.

Don Pedro sail'd from the Port of *Iloilo*, with all these Preparations, on the 15th of *January*, 1606, the Weather being unsettled, but he as resolute as at other Times. He arriv'd at the Island *Mindanao*, then in Enmity with the *Spaniards*, and in Confederacy with the *Ternates*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Caldera*, to water, where the Admiral's Ship, in which the Colonel *Esquivel* was, began to drag her Anchors, and was forc'd to set her Sails to get off; but perceiving she could not, by so doing, weather a Point, she fired two Guns, in Token of Distress, at the Time when her Rudder struck. The Gallies made up to tow her off, and broke some Ropes to no Purpose, the Sea and Wind being against them. Captain *Villagra* was entrusted to save the Men and Provisions that were aboard; and he, tho' a considerable Part belonging to the King and private Men was lost, with incredible Industry sav'd the most of them, and the Goods, as also all the Men, Cannon, Powder, Cables, Rigging, and Sails; and that the People of *Mindanao* might not reap the Benefit of the Wreck, he

The Fleet sails from Iloilo.

Caldera Port.

Admiral Ship lost.

set Fire to the Vessel, after taking out all the Iron Work. This Accident was much lamented, both for its own Consequence, and because the Men, who are often vainly Superstitious, put an ill Construction upon it; but the General's Wisdom made amends for all.

*They sail
from Cal-
dera.*

From the Port of *Caldera*, the General order'd the Colonel to sail over to that of *Talangame*, which, as has been said, is in the Island of *Ternate*; and bore him Company himself, with the Gallies, till he was out of the Streight of *Sabuanga*, which is dangerous by Reason of the Currents, and Ridges of Rocks, wherefore they row'd the Ships, till they were out of Danger, as also because they were becalm'd. The Fleet stood out to Sea; the Gallies coasted along slowly to take in Water enough to last them to *Ternate*, the Men that had been sav'd from abroad the Admiral being distributed among them, and the other Vessels, so that their Burden and Labour was increased. The ablest Pilots in those Seas, had Charge of the Gallies, and yet notwithstanding all their Care, and that of the Captains and expert Mariners, they mistook their Course, and fell in among the Islands of *Celebes*, otherwise call'd of *Mateo*, above 60 Leagues to the Leeward of *Ternate*. The Wind was contrary, and the Error was to be retriev'd by rowing. With very much Labour they reach'd *Ternate*, on the 26th of *March*, being *Easter-Day*. That Day so joyful to all Mankind, made them forget past Toils, and convert them into Pleasure and Delight.

*Through
Mistake
fall in with
Celebes.*

*Arrive at
Ternate.*

*Superstiti-
on of Mo-
luccos as
to Eclipses.*

They were inform'd, that the Day before, an Eclipse of the Moon had been observ'd at *Ternate*, with the usual Concern. No sooner does the Darkness begin to cover the Body of the Moon, than the People with Sighs and Tears begin also to lament that Planet's Mourning; for they believe it forebodes the Death or Captivity of their King, or of some eminent Person, or some Calamity to the Publick. If the Eclipse passes over without any of these Losses, they Repair to their *Mosque* in Procession, Rank and File. Here the foremost carry large *China* Dishes. Those are follow'd by others with Launces, and Hatchets advanc'd, and Muskets rested. Next them follow three Lamps, carry'd on Men's Shoulders, as common Pictures represent the great Bunch of Grapes carry'd by the Discoverers, who went to view the Holy Land promis'd by God to his People. Next comes a Boy, in Royal Robes, and behind him another holding an Umbrello, made of various Feathers, over the Head of the first. Then follow the Women, set off with Flowers and Palm-Branches, without Order; and thus they celebrate their Thanksgiving, in the Streets and Temples, because the Eclipse pass'd over without any Detriment. The *Dutch* told them, That Eclipses were commonly known in their Country, and throughout all *Europe*; which those People either admir'd or did not believe.

*Dutch
Ship at Ta-
langame.*

When our Gallies came to the Port of *Talangame*, *Don Pedro* expected to have found the Colonel with the Fleet in it; but only saw a stately *Dutch* Ship, carrying 30 Pieces of Cannon, and 12 Pedreroes. She fought our Ships as they pass'd by, and then drew to the Shore, and defended herself with Part of the Atillery, that was fittest for the Purpose, and being guarded by a great Number of *Ternate* Soldiers, kept close in her Fortification. *Don Pedro* took a View of her, as he pass'd by in the Gallies, tho' he made several Shot at him, and threw 18 Pound Balls into the Ad-
miral-

miral Galley, where he was. He thought fit not to stay, till he heard of the Fleet which was then at *Tydore*, little above two Leagues from that Port, as was known by some Vessels of the Natives, that came up board and board, in sailing by that Harbour. The Gallies directed their Course to *Tydore*, led by the Joy of this good News, which eas'd *Don Pedro* of much Care he was in, knowing there was a Scarcity of Seamen aboard the Fleet, and he fear'd it might have been drove away elsewhere.

Esquivel found four *Dutch* Men at *Tydore*. One of them was the Factor who gather'd the Clove for a Company of his Countrymen, that belong'd to the Factories of *Ternate*, *Amboyna*, *Banda*, *Sunda*, and other Places about them; the other three were Sailors. He examin'd all four, and they gave an Account of the Strength of that Ship, and her Guns, saying, She was laden with Clove; and one of the five that fought the *Portugueses*, when the Fort of *Ternate* blew up. That they expected another Ship, which came with her from *Bantam*, and was parted in foul Weather. That the main Drift of the Agreement made between the King of *Ternate* and the *Dutch*, was their Assisting him against the *Spaniards*, and *Portugueses*. That there were Orders at *Java* and *Sunda* for the *Dutch* Ships which pass'd by to enquire there, whether there were any News from the *Moluccos*; and if Need were, that they should leave their Lading there, and go succour the King of *Ternate*.

Dutch Men at Tydore.

Intelligence they give.

Before *Don Pedro* departed *Talangame*, he consulted with his Officers, whether it were convenient to attack the *Dutch* Ship before they went upon the Enterprize of *Ternate*. Opinions varied, but it was concluded, that since his Majesties Design was to recover the *Maluccos*, and he had order'd the Fleet to be provided for that Intent, it was not expedient to prefer any other Action. Time is subject to change, and sometimes an Accident overthrows the best concerted Designs. That great Ship, so well stor'd with Guns, and Mann'd, might have sunk some of ours, by which we should have lost our Cannon, and Provisions, or some other Mischiefe, that could not possibly be foreseen might have happen'd, to the obstructing of the main Design. Besides that the *Ternates* being their Friends, in Case we had master'd the Ship, the Men might fly and save themselves among their Confederates, and thus the Enterprize be rendered more difficult by their Assistance; and it was known by Spyes, that the King already had *Dutch* Gunners, and Soldiers of Courage and Conduct.

Ternate to be attack'd before the Dutch Ship.

The King was not at *Tydore* when our Fleet came into his Harbour, being gone to marry a Daughter of the King of *Bachian*; and tho' the Colonel sent to acquaint him with his Arrival, and to desire he would hasten his Coming, as fearing Delays; yet perceiving the Time slipt away, he set out on the last of *March* for *Ternate*, with his Fleet. When they were at Sea, they heard the new married King's Bagpipes, Bassons, Trumpets, and Kettle-Drums. He having receiv'd the *Spaniards* Letters, imbarc'd, bringing the New Queen along with him, and joyn'd them with his *Carcoas* full of Musick, and Garlands of Flowers. They met with extraordinary Joy, and the King of *Tydore* express'd it particularly for seeing of *Don Pedro de Accunna*, with whom he had before frequent Communication by Letters and Messengers. He show'd much Concern for the Streights he had been reduc'd to by the King of *Ternate*, with the Assistance of the *Dutch*.

King of Tydore and Don Pedro meet at Sea.

Don Pedro

*Orders for
the Enter-
prize.*

Pedro comforted him, declaring his Majesty's Intention, and how he had order'd him to come to his Assistance, from the *Philippine* Islands, whensoever he should require it. He visited the Bride, paying her all possible Respect; and the King of *Tydore*, telling him, he would attend the Fleet in Person, with his Ships and Men, went away then to his Island, and the next Morning, at Break of Day, according to his Promise, came into a Bay near *Ternate*, where our Fleet had anchor'd. The Rejoycings for his coming did not delay the Consultations, and Orders for the Enterprize. The Governour call'd a Council of War, where it was resolv'd, that all the Strength of the Fleet should be reduc'd to only three great Ships, to secure the Sea and Land. They were immediately sufficiently mann'd with Sea-Men and Soldiers, under the Command of *Bernardine Alfonso*, *Antony Carrenno de Valdes*, and *Don Gil Sanchez de Carranza*, all three Commanders of Repute. Other Orders were issu'd out, and presently put in Execution by the Officers. Of the three above nam'd, two dy'd in their Return Home, and only *Carreno* out liv'd it.

*The Forces land
April the
first.*

Don Pedro, and the King of *Tydore* landed their Men, on the first of *April*, at Break of Day; but it being difficult, and even dangerous to march so near the Water, because there was no more ground on the Shore than for five Men in Rank; it was resolv'd to make the Attack with a small Number, gradually along the Sea Coast, without engaging too far; and at the same Time to make Way over the Top of the Mountain, with some *Pampanguo*, and *Tangalo* Indian Pioneers, and to send another Party of Men that Way, to give the Enemy a Diversion, and oblige them to divide their Forces. The King of *Ternate*, whom Experience and Fear had instructed in the Art of War, perceiving what was aim'd at, to avoid being cut off in the Rear, retir'd to his Fort, as soon as he discover'd our Army. This was the Reason why our Men met with no Opposition, whereas the General *Furtaido* found so much Resistance there, three Years before, at the Siege we have spoken of, when in gaining that Pass, he lost some *Portugueses* and *Spaniards*, being assisted by Captain *Gallinato*.

*K. of Ter-
nate re-
tires to his
Fort.*

*Gallinato
invests the
Place.*

He now put our Men into good Order, leading the Van, and drew up within Musket Shot of the Wall. He told *Don Pedro*, in the Presence of the King of *Tydore*, that some Soldiers had, by his Command, taken a View of the Place, and that considering the Nature of the Situation, it was requisite to maintain that Ground till Night, when our Men should intrench, and bring up the Cannon for Battery. His Advice was approv'd of, and put in Execution; and in Regard that the Enemy did some Harm in the main Body, and Wings, with their Cannon and small Shot; *Don Pedro* to prevent it, order'd the Men to lye down. It was observ'd that there were four Eminences cover'd with wild, and full headed Trees, on which the Enemy had their Sentinels, who gave Intelligence how the *Spaniards* mov'd, and of whatsoever they order'd, or perform'd. A Captain went up to make himself Master of the Trees, and soon brought down the Enemies Sentinels. *Gallinato* perfected that Work, commanding our Sentinels to get up into those same Trees, as was done. The Enemy endeavour'd to remove them with their Cannon and small Arms, firing incessantly; but could never disturb either those that were on the Top, among the Boughs, who gave the Information, nor the others that stood at the Foot, who receiv'd and carried

*Sentinels
on Trees
beaten off.*

ed it to the Officers. The Enemy was possess'd of a Post near the Battion of *Cachil Tulo*, on the right Hand of the Wall, a little beyond the Trees, and the General thinking it necessary to be gain'd, commanded Captain *John de Cubas*, an old Low-Country Soldier, to attack it with 30 Musketiers, and if he thought himself too hard set, to send Word, and he should have a good Supply of Pikes. The Captain went on by the Way of the Mountain, and the Enemy to prevent him, sent a Body of Men out of the Fort next the Sea, whom Captain *Villagra* charg'd. Whilst they were engag'd, the King of *Ternate*, perceiv'd that *Cubas* was marching to gain his Post, and being sensible how prejudicial the Loss of it would be, sally'd out himself to fight him, and the *Spaniards* had enough to do. *Cubas* gain'd the highest Ridge; but so fatigued, that he was forc'd to send for the Supply of Pikes. The Captains *Vergara*, *Alarcon*, and *Don Roderick de Mendoza* supported him with 40 detach'd Men; and before they came up more *Ternates* and *Javanese* sally'd out of the Fort, with whom the Fight was renew'd in more furious Manner. Another Party of Infidels was presently discover'd next the Sea, for which Reason, and because, if the Enemy had demanded more Succours, his Posts would be forsaken, the King order'd those who fought with *Villagra* to retire, and went himself with them, and some others to sustain the Rest. His coming on like a brave, or rather a desperate Commander, oblig'd *Cubas*, to ask for another Supply which the Captains *Villagra*, and *Cervantes* carry'd him, and charg'd the Enemy. *Cachil Amuxa*, of whose Bravery Mention has been made, went up to Captain *Cubas* after burning the Brims of his Hat, and the Feather in it, with a Musket Shot, and they both fought Hand to Hand for a considerable Time, the one with his Sword, and the other with his *Campilane*, or Cymiter. The Sentinels on the Trees cry'd out, giving Notice of the Troops on the Shore, and that they came on towards our Van-Guard, and the Front of it. Captain *Villagra* was order'd to charge them with a Division of Shot, belonging to Captain *Cervantes*, who commanded all the Halbardiers. Both Parties fought with equal Tokens of Courage, when the Sentinels from the Trees gave Notice, that *John de Cubas*, on the Right, demanded more Succours. The Captains *Don Roderick de Mendoza*, and *Pascual de Alarcon* went with it immediately, drawing out two Divisions of Musketiers. The Sentinels cry'd out again, that the Enemy, who fought with Captain *Villagra* were retiring towards the Walls, and that *John de Cubas* demanded another Supply of Pikes and Halbards. Captain *Cervantes* supported him with 50, and *Villagra*, with the Men he commanded.

Villagra and Cubas fight the Ternates.

The Fight redoubl'd.

Single Combat.

Our Sentinels, to whose Vigilancy a great Part of this Success is owing, gave Notice again, that upon the Approach of our Supplies, the Enemy retired in Disorder, and our Men made up to the Wall. The Event of the Battle began now to be out of Doubt, and even in that Posture requir'd Diversity of Conduct. *Don Pedro* therefore order'd the Colours with the Rest of the Pikes to march, leaving one Division of Musketiers, and the Heavy Harquebussiers in the Rear, to face the Enemy, in Case they should happen to sally out again toward the Sea. The other Captains and Soldiers went on fighting, and at the set Time attack'd the Wall, helping one another to climb to the Top. The two first that got upon it were the Captains *John de Cubas*, and *Cervantes*, who having receiv'd some Wounds on it, tumbled down

Ternates retire in Disorder.

down again. The Difficulty of this Enterprize increas'd as the Enemy renew'd their Efforts, doing us Harm with their heavy and small Cannon, Muskets, sundry Sort of Fireworks, Stones, and other Contrivances the *Dutch* furnish'd them with; but the Attack was made so furiously, that the *Spaniards* gave not the King, nor his Men Leisure enough to get into the old *Portuguese* Fort, within the Wall; for had they done so, they might have defended themselves some Time, and our Men would have been oblig'd to batter the Walls with Cannon; and tho' the Fort is small, and built in more unskiltul Times, it would have cost Trouble.

The Place
taken, and
Number of
the Slain.

The Place was taken with little Loss, for we had but Fifteen Men kill'd on our Side, among them was Captain *Cervantes*, who getting up the first upon the Wall, with a Design to display the King's Standard on it, was run into the Eye with a Launce, by a Barbarian, and others coming on, they threw him down to the Ground, whereof he dy'd the seventh Day, much regretted by all Men. He had before said publicly, offering to give the Charge, *Gentlemen, the Bull shall not make his Escape my Way, unless it cost me my Life*; alluding to keeping of him in at the Bull-Feasts. He was as good as his Word both ways, since he dy'd in Performance of it, with his Arms and Legs broken. No Man of any Note, either among the *Spaniards* or *Indians* escap'd unhurt. Many *Ternates* and *Javanese* were slain, and some *Dutch* shed their Blood, like brave or desperate Men, thinking it a Misfortune, as they said, to owe their Lives to our Courtesy, or Mercy.

Cannon
found in
it.

It was never expected that the Success, would be in all Points answerable to the Justice of the Cause. *Don Pedro* had design'd to batter the Forts, wherein he would have met with mighty Difficulties, because the Cannon was very heavy, and hard to be drawn to the proper Posts for Battery; as also for that there was not Earth to fill the Gabions, and the Rockiness of the Ground obstructed the throwing up of the Trenches, which would have occasion'd the Loss of many Men before the Artillery could be planted. The *Spaniards* pursu'd their Success, and possessing themselves of the Fort, found in it 43 large Brass Guns, abundance of Drakes, and other Arms, besides Ammunition and Provisions.

Prisoners
made
Slaves.

The Men having enter'd the City, every one fell to plunder, and commit Outrages. *Don Pedro* had made Proclamation, that all the Enemies taken within four Days should be made Slaves. The Commanders halted near the ancient Church of *S. Paul*, which was fortify'd by the Enemy with Ramparts for this Service. Opinions vary'd about what was next to be done; Some were for securing what was already gain'd; Others for pushing on, to gain the main Fort. The Captains *Vergara* and *Villagra*, were for the Latter, and the Soldiers were so brisk and eager to run into any Danger, that one of them, of the Province of *Estremadura*, and belonging to the Company of Captain *Sevil*, an *Aragonian*, and notable Commander, who was also for going on, took up Captain *Villagra* in his Arms, and carry'd him above ten Paces, saying, *Good Captain, fall on, fall on*; and then set him down. The Captain struck him, for having taken him up so rudely, at such a Time; and the Soldier bowing, pleasantly and with a smiling Countenance, said to him, *God is my Life, strike again, and fall on*. In short, *Vergara* and *Villagra*, with a few Men at-

Eagerness
of the Men.

They at-
tack and
take the
main Fort.

tack'd

rack'd the main Fort, and carry'd it, being themselves the first that enter'd the Gates, but not the first that went up; for as they were running up the Stairs hastily, and just going into the Hall, *Barela*, and old Soldier, and Corporal to Captain *Cervantes*, thrust by their Side, and getting in, took a gilt Ewre, made in the Shape of an Urn, curiously engrav'd, from off a rich Cupboard, or Side-board there was in the Hall, saying to the Captains, *Gentlemen, I take this in Token that I came in here with you*; and carry'd it away, by their Consent. All the Palace was then expos'd to the Avarice of the Soldiers. *Don Pedro* would have given a check to it; but was not taken Notice of, till almost all was over.

They attack and take the main Fort.

The King's Palace plunder'd.

The King of *Ternate* had forsaken all, and some of the *Dutch* him, when they saw he was going down; none follow'd him in this Confusion and Flight, but the *Sangiack* of *Mofaquia*, his Kinsman, who encourag'd and advis'd him, his Queen *Celicaya*, and some other Women. He embark'd with them all, Prince *Gariolano* his Son, and a few *Dutch*, in great Haste, within the Wall, aboard some *Carcoas* of *Mofaquia*, and plying the Oars, or rather Flying, arriv'd in the Island of *Gilolo*, at a Fort there, built not long before in *Sabugu*. The rest of the *Dutch* got off in other Vessels to their Ship.

The King &c. fly to Gilolo.

The whole Body of the Army now rang'd the Towns and Houses of the Natives, wholly intent upon Plunder, and *Don Pedro* went about, giving Orders, and checking the Soldiers, that they might keep in a Body.

The Dutch to their Ship.

The General went on to *S. Paul's Church*, which was unroof'd and profan'd; he order'd it to be cleans'd, and immediately adorn'd with Boughs, and other Ornaments, brought thither by the diligent Soldiers, where they devoutly, with loud Voices, sang the Hymn, *Salve Regina*, which our Church uses to call upon the blessed Virgin. For the compleating of this Victory, they still wanted to seize the King, Prince, *Sangiacks*, and Commanders that follow'd him. The General took Possession of the Forts, setting up and displaying the Colours, with the Arms of the Crown of *Spain*, and the Name of **PHILIP THE THIRD, OUR SOVEREIGN**, the Musick playing, and Guns firing. He order'd that the next Day Captain *Villagra* should set out in Pursuit of the King of *Ternate*, with 100 Men in two Gallies, and the King of *Tydore*, and the Prince his Son, with their Fleet, consisting of two *Janguas*, and 15 *Carcoas*, in which were 1000 Men.

Possession taken of the Fort.

King of Ternate pursu'd.

The King and Prince of *Tydore*, with Captain *Villagra*, came to the Fort of *Tacome*, in *Ternate*, on the third of *April*, where they found *Cachil Amuxa*, the bravest of the Natives of *Ternate*, Cousin German to their King, and his Captain General. *Villagra* sent him a Message by *Antony de Silva*, Interpreter of their Language, and through his Means he surrendered, with some *Dutch*; all whom he carry'd Prisoners to the City. He brought them in very honourable Manner, and they had not the dejected Looks of Men that were overcome. Being come to the City, he deliver'd them to *Don Pedro de Acunna*, who observing the same Generosity, received and treated them courteously, and commended their Valour. There the *Cachil* and Captain *John de Cubas* knew one another again, remember'd the Wounds they had given and receiv'd, and were good Friends. The *Portuguese* Commanders visited him, and in his Presence, after com-

Tacome Fort surrender'd to Villagra.

The General honours the Portuguese Commanders.

Sangiack of Mofaqui taken.

He proposes to bring over the King.

Don Pedro's Answer.

The King delivers himself up on a safe Conduct.

Embarks for Ternate.

Visits his Mother.

mending the Bravery they had shown in the War, the General, with his own Hands, put weighty Gold Chains about their Necks, as was then us'd among Soldiers, desiring they would accept of that Acknowledgement of their gallant Behaviour, and excuse the Smallness of the Gift; and they on their Side, made suitable Returns of Courtesy.

Villagra went out again, and by the Way, took the *Sangiack* of *Mofaqui*, and two of his Nephews, without any Opposition. All these having desir'd Audience of *Don Pedro*, told him, they had always been desirous to return to their Subjection under his Majesty, but that their Kinsman, the King, had obstructed it, and ruin'd himself by adhering to his own Opinion, rejecting the safest and best, which was to recover their former Favour. *This Pride*, said they, *has reduc'd him to the miserable Condition he is now in. If you please we will discourse, and persuade him to put himself into your Hands, after you have taken such Security of us as becomes conquer'd Men, and given Commission to such as you can confide in to Article with the King. It is not the Change of our Fortune that moves us to this, for none can daunt those who are prepar'd for the worst; but it is that Fidelity, which the Circumstances of the Times would not permit us to exert.* *Don Pedro* return'd Thanks for their Zeal, and told them, The Method they had chosen was the best to oblige the King of *Spain* to use that Victory with his innate royal Goodness; and therefore empower'd them to assure the King, and his Son, that their Lives should be safe. The two *Cachiles* embarking with *Paul de Lima*, who, tho' a Native of *Ternate*, was discreet and a Master of the *Spanish* Tongue, as also well known to the King, and with Captain *Villagra*, they sail'd over together to the Fort of *Sabubu*, in the Island *Batochina*. The King embrac'd, and receiv'd them with Tears; but when they propos'd his surrend'ring himself, he would not consent without a formal safe Conduct first granted. That Satisfaction was soon given him, for *Don Pedro* sent it, with Assurance of his Life, in respectful Terms, becoming the Person of a King, and all solid and safe, according to the Power committed to him, the Rest being left at his Catholick Majesty's Disposal.

The Instrument, which the General had drawn in Form, being read, the King resolv'd to repair to *Ternate*, with the Prince, and the other *Cachiles* and *Sangiacks*; yet contrary to the Advice of *Celicaya*, of whom he was always desperately in Love. In fine, he put himself into the Hands of *Don Pedro*, and to this Effect embark'd on three *Fanguas*, and meeting with *Villagra*, they went over with all the rest into his Galleys, to be carry'd to the General. The King desir'd by the Way to visit his Mother, who was in the Fort of *Tacome*, and having propos'd it to Captain *Villagra*, he comply'd with him, and the Galleys made haste. They came to *Tacome* on the 8th of *April*, where he landed, and his Mother coming out to meet him, encourag'd him, without showing the least Dejectedness. Nothing appear'd in the Discourse between them that could be heard, that had a Womanish Air, or the Resemblance of a Motherly Tenderness, as the Interpreters declar'd, nor did she comfort him with Hopes of Revenge, but only with Reasons perswading to sute himself to his Fortune, which is the Will of Heaven.

From

From this Place *Villagra* sent Advice to *Don Pedro*, that the King was come, and would soon be with him. He having receiv'd the News, sent Major *Ascueta* to bid him welcome. He order'd he should be treated with Respect, and that the Major should in secret bid Captain *Villagra* make haste to *Ternate*, because there was much still to do, and it was not proper to lose Time. The Progress of Victory is not to be interrupted. They set out in the Evening for *Ternate*, where they arriv'd late at Night, and therefore went not into the City. The King stood as it were amaz'd when he saw the Place, and heard the Drums, and other Martial Noises; being sensible of the Yoke he had been so averse to bear. However he diverted himself that Night, as a sick Person uses to admit of the Entertainment he receives from those who are in Health. The next Day the General came aboard, whilst the Army was forming into one great Body, and the Companies were marching, that the King might not stay; that Show being provided for him, and the Design that he should be conducted in through the Midst of the Forces. *Don Pedro* order'd, That before he landed, the King of *Tydore*, who attended in the same Harbour, should go visit him. He refus'd to receive him, as long as he could, and the Colonel and all the Captains intreated him to admit of the Visit, which he at length consented to, either being perswaded, or yielding to Importunity. The Galley made towards the King of *Tydore's* Fleet, and as they drew near, the Cannon fir'd. The King of *Tydore* stay'd aboard his Admiral, conceal'd between Curtains of Crimson Damask, and when the two Gallies were come together board and board, after a long Silence, the Curtains were drawn. Both the Kings appear'd in their Vessels, looking at one another, for a considerable Time, without speaking a Word. At length he of *Ternate*, as the conquer'd, call'd to one of his Nephews, to whom kneeling, he deliver'd a Message in his Ear for the King of *Tydore*. The Nephew went over to the *Carcoa*, and having made the *Zumbaya*, according to their Ceremonies, with great Tokens of Submission, kneeling, joyning his Hands, and raising them up to his Face, kiss'd the King of *Tydore's* left Foot. Then he deliver'd him his Message with much Deliberation, all the Standers-by observing the knitting of his Brows, and all the other Tokens of Admiration and Sorrow, wherewith he was heard. The Nephew withdrew as soon as he had done speaking; and after the King of *Tydore* had continu'd a while Thoughtful, he call'd another *Cachil*, who was his Favourite, and Kinsman. He spoke to him in the same Manner, and gave him another Message for the King of *Ternate*, with much Deliberation and State. This Messenger paid him the same respectful Ceremonies, and going over to our Galley, when he came into the Presence of the King of *Ternate*, after performing the same *Zumbaya*, bow'd himself down, and deliver'd the Answer. The King receiv'd it with as much Grandeur as he could have done had he been Conqueror. Then he also stood a while musing, and rising went over to the Admiral of *Tydore*, which, as has been said, was grappled with the Galley. The Prince, his Son, and the Commanders attended him. The King of *Tydore* stood up to receive him. When they met, each of them us'd tedious Civilities, and Ceremonies towards the other, about sitting. He of *Ternate* sat first, and the Prince, by his Father's Order, paid him of *Tydore*, the Respect of the *Zumbaya*, kissing

The King brought to Ternate.

The King of Tydore goes to visit him.

Barbarous Ceremonies of the Kings.

Zumbaya Ceremony.

Meeting of the two Kings.

kissing his Foot. He to prevent obliging his Son to repay the like Compliment to the other, before the King of *Ternate* came, had order'd him aboard another Vessel, and to put out to Sea, that he might not be present at the Interview. The two Kings discours'd about several Affairs, and he of *Ternate*, of his Misfortune, tho' in manly Manner.

*The two
Kings
land.*

It being now Time for the King of *Ternate* to land, both the Kings began to draw near it, but with different Notions. The General waited in the Fort, and saw the Landing from the Top of it. The King of *Ternate* came ashore between and led by the Colonel, and *Gallinato*. After him follow'd the Prince, conducted by Captain *Villagra*, and the Major. The King march'd thro' a Lane of our Foot, and seem'd pleas'd to see them so gallant, and orderly. Thus he came to the Fort, the ancient Residence of his Predecessors, and not long since his own, *Don Pedro*, the Governour coming down to the Gate to meet him, unarm'd, richly dress'd, and with such Decency as became his Person. He would have kiss'd his Hand, but the King embrac'd him, and they went up Hand in Hand to the Lodgings; in the Stateliest whereof, they found three Chairs, with as many Cushions before them, plac'd on a rich Carpet under the Canopy. The King sat on that in the Middle, the Prince on the next, and the Governour on the third. After a short Silence, the Discourse began, *Don Pedro* telling the King, his Highness ought to bear his present Condition with Resolution, remembering the long Prosperity he had enjoy'd. That he offer'd to interceed, and use his Interest with his Majesty, that he might be restor'd to his Kingdoms; and that the Subject in Hand requiring longer and private Conferences, he for the Present would cut it short, because the settling of weighty Affairs, is not to be grounded on the Noise of Promises.

*Don Pedro
receives
the King.*

*Comforts
him.*

*The King's
Answer.*

The King return'd Thanks for the Kindness he show'd, in promising his Restitution, and bemoaning his present Condition, concluded, saying, That he took Comfort in him, considering Heaven had reserv'd him to be subdu'd by so great a Commander; in which particular he reckon'd he was much oblig'd to his Fortune; and that he confided, he would treat him with such Generosity and Goodness as was due on his own Account, and his being the Minister of so great a Monarch, without calling to mind that his own Pride had been his Ruin. The Governour satisfy'd him as to all Points, and having order'd the best House in *Ternate* to be furnish'd, and sent to it Plate, Household Goods, Linnen, Beds, Pavillions, and all Things answerable to such a Guest, he desir'd the King would be pleas'd to remove thither, and with his leave he would wait on him; and that, with his good liking, a *Spanish* Captain with his Company should guard his Person; lest the Subjects of the Kingdom of *Tydore*, his natural Enemies, who were then very Numerous in the City, seeing him alone, should offer any Rudeness. The King accepted of it, smiling in a heavy Manner, to signify that the Guard was appointed to secure him, and all the other Prisoners, and that he was sensible of the false Gloss they gave it.

*A Spanish
Company
guards the
King.*

*He desires
the Com-
pany of
Captain
Villagra.*

Captain *Peter Delgado* was order'd with his Company to guard the King's House, and attend him, till reliev'd. That Night the King was very melancholy, being among so many Strangers, and though it was late, would not go to Bed, till he had sent *Sylva*, the *Portuguese* Interpreter, to desire the General, that for some Comfort in his Solitude, this being the Request.

Request of a conquer'd Person, he would send him Captain *Villagra*, whom, as the first *Spaniard* he had been acquainted with, he lov'd, call'd him Father and delighted in his Company. The King is reported to have said, that to converse with the Conquerors, is only to hasten being overcome, and make the Change of Fortune Habitual: The Governour was glad he could afford him that Satisfaction; and sending immediately for Captain *Villagra*, desir'd he would go divert the King, and make much of, and entertain him with Art, that he might be comforted. The Captain readily comply'd, and the King express'd singular Satisfaction in his Company. He supp'd, and went to Bed, discoursing all the while with the Captain concerning Martial and Religious Affairs.

Two Days after the Governour directed Colonel *Gallinato* and Captain *Villagra*, together with *Paul de Lima*, to propose to the King to enter into Treaty with him, in his Majesty's Name, for settling Things in a State of Security, and Safety; and to perswade him, that was the Way to deserve well, and put himself into a better Condition. They three went to him, attended by other Persons of Note, and among them some religious Men of the Orders of *S. Augustin*, and *S. Dominick*, and the Society of *Jesus*, who all behav'd themselves commendably in their Stations. The King did not refuse to capitulate, and after settling the Form, by the Interposition of *Paul de Lima*, and granting some Things he desir'd of the King of Spain, the following Articles were drawn and sign'd.

The first Thing requir'd of *Cachil Sultan Zayde*, King of *Ternate*, and of the rest who are Prisoners with his Highness, is that he shall deliver up to his Majesty King *Philip* our Sovereign, the Forts he is now possess'd of, being those of *Gilolo*, *Sabubu*, *Gamocanora*, *Tacome*, those of *Machian*, those of *Sula*, and the Rest. To this he answers, that he will deliver up to his Majesty the aforesaid Forts, and to that Effect, will send the Prince his Son, and his Kinsman *Cachil Amuxa*, with the Persons appointed to take Possession of them, and that they shall be deliver'd up, with all the Cannon, Ammunitions, Muskets, and Fire-Arms there are in them.

Secondly, That he shall restore all the Prisoners he has, either Christians, or Infidels, being our Subjects, as well of the Provinces of the *Pintados*, as of the Rest that are subject to the *Spaniards* in the *Philippine* Islands. He answer'd, that all such as can be found at present shall be deliver'd, and the Rest hereafter as they are discover'd.

Thirdly, That he shall deliver up the *Dutch* he has in his Power. He answer'd, That when he departed the Fort of *Ternate*, 13 or 14 that were with him fled; and he supposes they repair'd to the *Dutch* Ship, because he has not seen them since; but if they shall be found, he will deliver them immediately.

Fourthly, He shall deliver up the Renegado *Spaniards* that were in the Fort of *Ternate*. He answer'd, that there was but one, and he fled as well as the Rest the Day the Fort was taken; that he knows not where he is, but will cause Search to be made, and deliver him.

Fifthly, That he shall deliver up all the Towns which are in *Batochina*, and is call'd *El Moro*, they having been formerly Christians; as also the Islands of *Moratay*, and *Herrao*, which were also Christian, with all the Artillery and Ammunition there is in them. He answer'd, he is ready to deliver up all, as he had done his Person.

Treaty set
afoot with
the King.

Articles
between
the General
and King of
Ternate.
The King
to deliver
up all
Forts.

To release
Prisoners.

To deliver
up the
Dutch.

And Renegado
Spaniards.

These

These Articles *Don Pedro de Acunna*, Governour, and Captain General of the *Philippine* Islands, President of the Royal Court residing in them, and rendering General of this Fleet in the *Moluccos*, committed to the General *John Xua-rez Gallinato*, and to Captain *Christopher de Villagra*, who concluded them in the Form as above, by the Interposition of *Paul de Lima*, a *Portuguese* born in these Islands, who serv'd as Interpreter of the Languages. And the said King subscrib'd his Name, after his Manner. Given in the Fort of *Ternate*, on the tenth of *April*, 1606. The said General, and Captain also sign'd it, with the said *Paul de Lima*.

How it was sign'd. The King sign'd in *Persian* Characters, with graceful Flourishes, and the *Spaniards* plainly; and this Original Capitulation was brought into *Spain*, with the other authentick Instruments.

Commanders go to take Possession. In Pursuance to this Agreement, the Commanders imbark'd to take Possession of the several Places, carrying along with them the King and Prince, and other Prisoners in two Galleys being the Admiral, and Vice-Admiral, with all *Villagra's* Company, and Part of that of *Cervantes*. The first Place taken Possession of was the Fort of *Tacome*, next that of *Sula*, both in the Island of *Ternate*. Thence they sail'd to the great *Batochina*, where are those of *Gilolo*, formerly a flourishing Kingdom; of *Sabubu*, and *Gamocanora*, which we corruptly call *Gran Bocanora*; but in that Country Language, *Gamo* signifies Middle, and *Canora* Land, so that *Gamocanora*, altogether signifies, Mid-Land, because it lies in the midst of *Gilolo*, and *El Moro*. Possession was taken of all these Forts, none landing but *Villagra*, with *Cachil Amuxa*, *Antony de Sylva*, and *John de Vega*, who did the Part of a Notary, being appointed, and authoriz'd for that Time. The *Cachil* assembled the People at all the Forts, acquainted them with the Success of *Ternate*, and that all was now subject to the *Spaniards*, by whose Authority that Captain came to take Possession, that so all might pay their Obedience to his Majesty. The People having been attentive to what was propos'd to them, knelt down, and raising their Voices made the *Zumbaya*. Then the Captain display'd the Standard advancing it in his Majesty's Name, to denote Possession. Then he commanded the Natives to bring out the Cannon, and draw it down to the Shore, to be imbark'd aboard the Galleys. This was the Method observed at *Gilolo*, and in other Places of less Note.

Manner of taking Possession. In the mean while, the King of *Tydore*, making his Advantage of the Victory, sent the Prince his Son with some Troops, to possess himself of the Towns the King of *Ternate* had taken for him, as he actually did. *Don Pedro* being inform'd of it, was offended that an Enterprize should be undertaken without his Order, and thinking the King of *Tydore* had therein given Tokens of Distrust, and Disrespect, had Thoughts of taking such Satisfaction, as he judg'd the Matter deserv'd; but the King of *Tydore* reflecting on his Misbehaviour, and that the Governours Resentment swell'd up to absolute Indignation, he found Means to appease him, excusing himself, and saying, that Invasion had been carry'd on without his Order, or Knowledge; and desisting expected to be restor'd by *Don Pedro*, as we shall soon see.

The Method observ'd at other Forts, could not be followed at that of *Sabubu*, where Queen *Celycaya* was, because *Cachil Amuxa* fell sick, or pretended so to do. *Villagra* had Regard to the Circumstances of Times. *Cachil Rete*, Sargiack of *Gamocanora*, the King's Nephew, and a brave Soldier, landed

lauded instead of the other. The People of that Town imagin'd, that *Villagra* brought considerable Forces, and therefore to secure the Queen, and themselves; they gather'd above 2500 fighting Men, under Pretence they would not suffer *Celycaya* to be taken away. They hid themselves with their Arms, yet not so but that the Captain knew of it. He took no Notice, but coming up to one of the Bastions of the Town, which were both next the River, drew off the Cannon, some few of the Natives, and those Boys helping him; the Rest waiting for more considerable Action, in Arms. Then he disarm'd the other Bastion, assisted by *Francis Romanico*, and *John Rodriguez Bermejo*, Captains of the Gallies. The Town stands on the Bank of a River, up which they had run in their Boats; but returning with the Men that row'd, the Guns were loaded, the *Sangiack Rete* forwarding of it. He finding the People in an Uproar, would not have had the Cannon carry'd away, at that Time. Possession was not taken till afterwards, out of Respect to the Queen, and by Reason of the Mutiny of the People, who escap'd not unchastis'd. The Gallies return'd to *Gamocanora*, and not being able to get into the River, nor to stay out, because of the Flats, where an indifferent Wind may do much Harm, the least Part whereof was the Loss of the Vessels; *Gallinato* therefore considering, that if they should be cast away, the King was in his own Country, whence it would be impossible to get him out again, tho' a greater Power should be gather'd for that End, than what came from the *Philippine* Islands, and having consulted with him about the Method to be us'd to get in to *Gamocanora*, the *Sangiack* of that Place said to him. *Sir, if you have such Confidence in me, as I know you may, and my Advice is of any Force with you, do not go thither with these Gallies, for you will expose them to Shoals, and Winds. Since therefore here are two Carcoas of Tydore, let the Captain Villagra, the Notary, and the Interpreter go aboard them, and I will go along with them to my Country, where the same shall be done, as if the Gallies went in.*

The People of Sabubu in Arms.

Cachil Rete.

His Advice to the Spaniards.

Gallinato consulted with *Villagra*, and they approv'd of the Method, setting out in the *Carcoas* on Saturday in the Afternoon, and on Sunday Morning a League short of the River, the *Sangiack* told the Captain, he well knew he had been long from his Country, attending the King, and that his Subjects had no certain Account of him, and therefore, they might then as they us'd to do at other Times, come out to the Mouth of the River with a Fleet, to guard the Entrance. That if it should so happen, he must not be disturb'd, for they should all serve him. The Captain, told him, how much he confided in him, since he had so easily follow'd his Advice, and was come to his Country almost Naked; and that whatsoever happen'd he would not mistrust him. Being come near the Mouth of the River, they saw 13 Vessels come out, and when in the Sea, they drew up in a half Moon, and made up to enclose the Captain's *Carcoa*. The *Sangiack* seeing them near at Hand, went forward, and calling out, commanded them to be peaceable. As soon as they knew him, they obey'd, drew together their Vessels, and came to speak to him. He enquir'd into the Posture of his Affairs, and ask'd whether his Mother was there. They said she was, and gave him a long Account of all Things. They went before to carry his Mother the News of his Coming, and he order'd them to assemble all the People of the Town, and that none should appear arm'd, for they never us'd to lay aside their

Villagra trusts the Sangiack

He appears his Subjects.

Campilanes.

*A Vessel
sail'd by
none but
Women.*

Campilanes. Being come in, they found all, and even the Women got together, and imbarcking again, met the *Sangiacks* Mother in the Middle of the River, she then coming down, to see her Son, in a Vessel all full of Women, clad in several Sorts of Silks, with high Feathers, and several of them arm'd. Some handed the Sails, others ply'd the Oares, and others attended about that Princesses Person, so that there was not one Man among them.

*Meeting
of the
Sangiack
and his
Mother.*

The Mother being impatient, advanc'd as soon as ever she came to her Son's *Carcon*; but he more nimbly leap'd into that Vessel of Women, and after paying the due Respect to his Mother, there pass'd extraordinary Demonstrations of Love on both Sides, she imbracing, and kissing her Son. Thus they all went up the River, against the Stream, till they came to the Town. On both the Banks there appear'd People clad in gay Manner, with Feathers, but unarm'd, and the *Sangiack* having desir'd his Mother to go ashore, all the Prime Men to perswade her leap'd into the Water, and carry'd her in their Arms. The *Sangiack* and *Villagra* came to the Market-Place, in the midst whereof they found an Arbour, or Hut made of Boughs, on Timbers, and in it two Chairs, on a Carpet. They set down with the usual Ceremonies, and the *Sangiack* declar'd to his Subjects, that all the Dominions of the King of *Ternate*, and their Persons, were then subject to the King of *Spain*, as he was himself. That hereupon follow'd the Obligation of delivering up the Forts to him, and he was possess'd of all the Rest, only that being wanting. That they should so order that Captain *Villagra* might take Possession of it and the Artillery. *Villagra* intreated the *Sangiack* to go see his Wife, and Children, and he would receive the Surrender of the Fort, and Arms, in the Afternoon; but he answer'd, that he came not to rejoyce with his Family, but to serve the King of *Spain*. Afterwards he added, If you will have me see them I will make Use of your Leave; and if you refuse it, will imbarck without seeing them. *Villagra* would not allow of such rigid Nicety, pressing him to take the Satisfaction of his Family, before the Act of Possession, and in the mean while, stay'd himself with *John de Vega*, and *Antony de Sylva*.

*His great
Submission
to the
Spaniards.*

*His noble
Entertain-
ment.*

As soon as the *Sangiack* came Home, he sent the Captain about 30 *Indians* loaded with Provisions, one after another, but first they brought Tables, Chairs; and Table-Linnen in their great Dishes, and Salvers, and on them the Salts, Knives, drinking Cups, and Ewres, Variety of Fruit, Pullets roasted and fry'd, Goats Flesh roasted and boil'd, and other Dishes, after the Fashion of their Country. A little before the Dinner was ended they brought a Bed, and Pillows of green Satin, which they laid upon Carpets, to take an Afternoons Nap on. It was not long before the *Sangiack* himself came, follow'd by all the People, leading his Mother, and with them many Men loaded with the Arms he was to deliver up, gather'd from private Men, as also Drakes, Muskets, and other Fire-Arms. *Indians* brought them on their Shoulders, adorn'd with Boughs, in Token of the Satisfaction they had in delivering them. The same was then done in the Fort, as had been in the others. The *Sangiack* that Night gave the Captain a Supper in the same Manner as the Dinner had been. The next Day they breakfasted, and imbarcking, return'd where *Gallinato* waited for them.

*Arms deli-
ver'd.*

in the Gallies, at *Tacome*, with some *Indians* of *Sabubu*, who came with a Message to *Villagra*, inviting him to go take Possession of the Fort.

He suspected they had a treacherous Design, which was, that when they came to *Sabubu*, they would endeavour to have the Gallies come into the River, the Bar being proper for them, and having 1500 Men in Ambush, on both Sides of it, they would at Night send down some Fire-Ships upon them, then those that were in Ambush giving the Alarm, they might at least rescue their King, and the other Prisoners that were aboard; and in Case the *Spaniards* would not go in with their Gallies, they would seize Captain *Villagra*, when he landed, that the Governour might, in Exchange, for him deliver them the King of *Ternate*. A Portuguese Woman, who retir'd to *Tacome*, flying from *Ternate* when it was taken, and marry'd to a Renegado, tho' she was herself a Christian, gave *Gallinato* Advice of this intended Treachery. He took no Notice, but privately advis'd *Villagra* to pretend he was sick. The Natives of *Sabubu*, again pressed for the Captain, that they might deliver him the Fort, and *Gallinato* desiring him to make ready to go thither, he excus'd himself, alledging his Indisposition. *Vega* and *Sylva*, and some other Officers, went without him, and did the same Thing he could have done, avoiding the Danger of the Treason.

Treacherous Design of the People of Sabubu.

A Portuguese Woman discovers the Design.

They return'd with the Gallies to *Ternate*, where they found *Don Pedro*, who condescending to some just Requests, and to others which depended on Courtesy, being only Matter of Bounty, restor'd several Towns, wrongfully taken. These were belov'd on the Kings of *Tydore*, of *Bachian*, and of *Sian*. The last of these, tho' he ought to have joyn'd the Governour before the Expedition, came late, by Reason of contrary Winds. He restor'd eight Towns to the King of *Tydore*, *Cachil Mole*, he having been before possess'd of them in the Island of *Machian*. On *Cachil Raxa Laudin*, King of *Bachian*, who was always faithful to the *Spaniards*, and wounded at the Siege *Andrew Furtado* lay'd to *Ternate*, he bestow'd the Islands of *Cayoa*, *Adoba*, and *Bayloro*, which are near *Bachian*, as also *Lucabata*, *Palomata*, and other Towns. He gave *Ruy Pereyra*, the *Sangiack* of *Labua*, a notable Christian, and the King of *Spain's* Subject, the Island of *Gane* to hold as Governour; and others to *Paul de Lima*, which his Family had formerly been possess'd of.

Don Pedro restores Towns to the Owners.

Some Assemblies were held, to consult, what was to be done with the King and his Son. Upon summing up the Votes, it was Resolv'd, that neither the one, nor the other, or any of the Prisoners of Note, being his Kinsmen, *Cachiles* and *Sangiacks* of Repute, should be left in the *Moluccos*; and that, for considerable Reasons, then appearing, it was not convenient, at that Time, to depose the King, but to allow him to appoint such peaceable Persons as he thought fit, to Govern the Kingdom. *Don Pedro* had, during this Time, writ to the King of *Spain*, acquainting him with the Success of the War, and approv'd of the Method of appointing Governours, and accordingly order'd the Captive King and Prince should be told, that this Form of Government was pitch'd upon to secure us against their Confederacies, since it was certain that they expected the *Dutch*, and had sent to invite them against the *Spaniards*. That the King was to understand, that his Liberty, and Restoration to his Kingdoms, depended on his good Behaviour for the future, and that of his Subjects; and their assisting the *Spaniards*

Don Pedro resolves to carry the Prisoners to Manila.

King of Ternate directed to appoint Governours.

Cachil Sugui, and Cachil Quipat Governours.

that were to be left at *Ternate*, and their friendly Entertainment of them. This Message was deliver'd to the King by *F. Lewis Fernandez*, of the Society of *Jesus*, *Gallinato*, and *Esquivel*. They did it with much Respect, adding, that he was to go to *Manila*, and therefore he should appoint such Persons, as he would have to Govern during his Absence. The King complying, submitted to every Thing, and nam'd *Cachil Sugui*, and *Cachil Quipat*, both of them his Unkles, to be Governours, because they were of a peaceable and honest Disposition.

Solemnity for swearing Fealty.

A Day was appointed for the solemn Act of doing Homage. The great Hall in the Fort was hung with Silk, rich Canopys set up; the Governour took his Seat under the chiefest of them, all the Forces being at Arms; and then he declar'd to the Kings the Occasion of assembling them together, which was to swear Fealty to his Majesty, a Duty that had been so long put off, and at the same Time so much labour'd for by War.

Persons that swore Fealty.

They swore Fealty to our Sovereign Lord King *Philip*, in the Person of the Governour *Don Pedro*. The first was *Cachil Sultan Zayde Buxey*, King of *Ternate*, and *Cachil Sulamp Gariolano*, the Prince, his Son. Then *Cachil Mole*, King of *Tydore*; *Cachil Raxa Laudin*, King of *Bachian*; *Cachil Dini*, King of *San*, who had never done it before, but only profess'd Friendship. After them swore the *Sangiacks* and *Cachiles*, *Tulo*, *Codaté*, *Amuxa*, *Rete*, *Ale*, *Nayo*, *Quipate*, *Colambaboa*, *Dexetes*, *Pamuza*, *Babada*, *Barcat*, *Sugi*, *Gugu*, *Boleyse*, *Gulila*, *Maleyto*, *Banaba*, all of them Princes, Kinsmen, and Subjects to the *Molucco* King. They promis'd not to admit of the *Dutch*, nor any other Nations, to the Trade of Clove, and to preserve it entirely for his Majesty, and his Subjects; and to be assisting with their Persons, Forces, and Ships, whensoever they should be call'd upon by the Commander of the Fort of *Ternate*, or of the *Philippines*. It was also agreed, that they should not any Way obstruct the Conversion of the Gentils that were inclin'd to embrace Christianity.

Another Fort built at Tydore

Ternate eas'd of Duties.

They were all satisfy'd with this Beginning of their new Subjection, because the King of *Ternate* oppress'd them, as being the most potent, and supported by the *Dutch*; nor had they any Security against his Tyranny; especially since he caus'd the King of *Tydore*'s Father to be treacherously murder'd, the King of *Bachian*'s in War, and a Kinsman of his, which they both still resented. *Don Pedro* order'd another Fort to be erected at *Tydore*, and a Captain with 50 Men to Garrison it; at the Request of the King, by whose Assistance it was finish'd. It was resolv'd, that for the present, the third Part of the Duties the People of *Ternate* us'd to pay, should be taken off, so to make them easy, that they might reap some Benefit of our Victory, and not be perswaded it tended to increase their Oppression. The old Fort being small, and unfit to make any considerable Defence, it was thought fit to build one on a higher Ground, larger, and stronger. The Plan was laid out, and Orders given for carrying on the Work. The said old Fort was brought into a narrow Compass, whilst the new one was raising, which the Governour, before he departed *Ternate*, saw finish'd, quite enclos'd, and strengthened with Ramparts. Six hundred Men, distributed into six Companies, were left in it, to defend the Island against any Invasion. Six other Captains were reform'd. There were also twelve Gunners, 65 Pioneers, 35 Masons, and two good Brigantines, which, in Case of Necessity, might

Men left at Ternate.

might be mann'd with Pioneers. Colonel *John de Esquivel* was appointed *Esquivel*
Commander in chief, and Governour of all the *Moluccas*. *Governor*

Don Pedro, the Day before his Departure, gave the said Governour his Instructions, which had been maturely weighed, and debated, after several private Conferences with him, providing for all Accidents that might happen.

All the Prisoners, being the King and Prince of *Ternate*, and 24 *Sangiacks* *Prisoners*
and *Cachiles*, were put aboard the Admiral Galley, under the Care of Captain *Villagra*, with particular Orders to convey them to *Minila*. This done they *shipp'd for*
set sail. Our Fleet being departed with the Booty, and Prisoners, the Colonel, *Manila*.

John de Esquivel, apply'd himself diligently to the Affairs of his Charge, and to hastning on the Fortifications begun in several Parts. Whilst the Conquerors sail'd away, on the fourth of *May*, he order'd the King of *Tydore*, with his Fleet, and in it some *Spaniards*, commanded by the Captains *Pasqual de Aragon*, and *Martin de Esquivel*, to sail for *Sabubu*, to perswade the *Cachiles*, *Sugui* and *Quinati*, to return to the City; because by their Examples the Citizens and Multitude would do the like, they being fled to the Mountains on Account of the War; for so they would quit those Deserts, be encouraged to confide in the Conqueror, and settle in Peace. The King of *Tydore* *King of*
arriv'd at *Sabubu*, with his Company; sent Messengers to them, who deliver'd what they were commission'd with, adding, that if they requir'd *Tydore*
Hostages for their safe coming, they should have the *Spanish* Captains that were *sent to Sa-*
in the Fleet deliver'd to them. The Governours were so far from giving *bubu*.

Ear to their Message, that they sent to conjure them to depart *Sabubu*. *Es-*
quivel was concern'd at this mistrustful and rough Behaviour, because the *The Go-*
greatest Part of the People of the Island were in that strong Hold, and in *vernours*
Gilolo, and that Repulse in the Presence of the Natives that were fled, seem'd *refuse to*
to threaten greater Opposition. Whilst he prepar'd to reduce them, he endeavour'd by fair Means to attract the Inhabitants of a Town, call'd *Tacome*, *come*.
two Leagues from *Ternate*, whither also some of those that had fled were re-
tir'd. He sent them a considerable Quantity of Plunder, plac'd Safeguards
in *Tacome* and *Malayo*, to quiet, and defend them against the *Tydores*, their
Enemies and Conquerors.

The King of *Tydore*, and our Commanders, returning without any Effect *Spanish*
from *Sabubu*, they sail'd with the Fleet to *Machian*, to recover peaceably *Ships at*
that Part of the Island, which the Governour, *Don Pedro*, took from the King *Machian*.
of *Ternate*, to restore it to him of *Tydore*. At the same Time two *Dutch*
Ships arriv'd there; one of them was the same our Fleet found some Days *two Dutch*
before in the Fort *Talangame*; which having been a Witness to our Suc- *Ships*.
cess, rejoyn'd the other, and both of them came together to the *Moluccas*, by
Order of the *Dutch* Commander residing at *Amboyna*, to encourage the King
of *Ternate* to persist in his Disobedience, and assist him against our Fleet.
Our Men sent the Colonel Advice, who order'd our Galliot to set out, to
find, and pursue those Ships, that so their Boats might not offer to move far
from them, and to endeavour to obstruct their trading with the Natives.
Tho' the Orders were obey'd, the said two Ships appear'd before *Ternate*
the third Day after, and holding on their Course, anchor'd at *Gilolo*, where
most of the Natives of the *Molucco* Islands, who were fled, had fortify'd
themselves. These Guests, according to their Custome, call'd together all

the Inhabitants, who were dispers'd about in other Towns, and resolv'd to go over to *Gilolo* and *Sabubu*. They gather'd all their Vessels, and thought, with them, and the *Dutch* Ships, to obstruct the Ravage our *Galiots* made, and to support their Friends. This new Rebellion was carry'd on in Sight of the *Dutch* Ships lying at Anchor before *Gilolo*, and they secur'd, and defended them against our Squadrons.

Rebellion
at *Gilolo*

The Colonel intreated the King of *Tydore*, who was newly return'd from *Machian*, to gather a greater Number of arm'd *Carcoas*, that our Infantry might be carry'd in them, and the *Galiots*, to attack *Gilolo*, and *Sabubu*, in Order to suppress that Mischief in its first Rise, there being other Places for our Vessels to put into, besides the Harbour where the Enemies Ships lay at Anchor. The King of *Tydore* started so many Difficulties, that *Esquivel* could not prevail upon him. Another more effectual Method was found. It being certain, that the Fugitives must bring their Provisions, and particularly Rice, from the Province *del Moro*, and Island of *Moratay*, where there is great Plenty; and that we having burnt the Ships of the *Moluccos*, during that War, they would supply the Want of them from those same Places; the Governour therefore resolv'd, that Major *Vergara*, and the King of *Tydore*, should repair thither with 120 *Spaniards*, to disappoint their Designs, that so Necessity might reduce them to submit.

Methods
for sup-
pressing it

Our Forces arriv'd at the Island *Batochina*, which is the same as *Gilolo*, and where *Sabubu* stands. Leaving the Shore, they march'd over extraordinary wooded Mountains, along the Side of the River *Gabocanora*, to a great Town, the Receptacle of many of the Fugitives. They met with no Opposition, or other Obstacle in the Way, but only those sharp pointed Stakes they use to drive into the Ground. The Enemy had plac'd their greatest Defence upon the River; but abandon'd it upon the Approach of the *Spaniards*, running up into the Mountains, and leaving their Houses and Vessels. Our Men fell upon both, burnt them, and took such as durst stay behind. In fine, they all, dismay'd at the Sight of the Flames and Destruction, embrac'd more submissive methods. The City *Visoa* underwent the same Fate, and the Remains of it sued for Pardon, and comply'd.

They burn
Towns and
reduce the
Island.

Galela de-
stroy'd.

Tolo Chi-
ava and
Camafo
submit.

The King of *Tydore* went away from this Place with eight *Carcoas*, leaving the rest, and the Galleys, with the Major. The City *Mimuya*, having made Resistance, was also burnt. Our Men went over in small Vessels to *Galela*, a Town built in a large Lake, which held out till reduc'd by Fire and Sword, the very Children swimming away. *Tolo*, *Chiava*, and *Camafo*, which are three Leagues from *Galela*, and whose Inhabitants had been formerly Christians, prevented Military Execution, by sending Deputies from *Tolo*, the strongest of them, with Boughs of *Bonanas* in Blossom, and Green, and White Cloves. They came unarm'd, and with Musick, and express'd much Sorrow for their late Rebellion, for which *Sultan Zayze* was to blame, and for having forsaken the Christian Religion, which they were there ready to imbrace. The *Spanish* Commander prais'd, and treated them Courteously. Our Men now sickned a pace; for which Reason, as also because the westerly Winds began to grow boisterous, he was oblig'd to defer the subduing of *Moratay*. However he left some Men at *Tolo*, with the small Guns taken at *Gabocanora*, to secure the Towns that were

were reduc'd, and defend them against those of *Galela* and *Tabelo*, which are bigger than they. This done he return'd to *Ternate*, but not without Storms, and Dangers, incurr'd by giving Credit to a *Molucco* Slave.

The Governour mann'd a Galliot, a Brigantine, and some smaller Vessels with Soldiers, and *Chineses* to row, under the Command of the Ensign *Christopher Suarez*. He sail'd with a fair Wind for the Island *Mateo*, which we call *Celebes*, the nearest Part whereof is 30 Leagues West from *Ternate*, and its Length above 150 Leagues. The furthest Part of it is subject to the King of *Macassar*, a *Mahometan* Prince, with whom the People of *Malaca* have Trade, as also with three other heathen Kings, of whom there was a Report, that they desired to be Christians; but they fell under the Tyranny of the King of *Ternate*, and suffer'd by his Invasions and Burnings. *Esquivel* sent to acquaint them with the King of *Spain's* Victories and Success; and exhorted them to come under his Dominion, but above all to be united to the Church. He made them Presents of *European* Commodities, which are as good as Money with them, and offer'd the Protection of the *Spanish* Power, which had pull'd down that Tyrant, to whom they were Tributary. He said, he sent them Ships and Arms, and that for the Time to come, they might safely repair to trade at the *Moluccos*. These Princes were two Brothers, the one King of *Bool*, the other of *Totoli*. They rejoyc'd at the coming of the Embassador *Christopher Suarez*, and he presenting them some Pieces of Velvet, in Token of Friendship, they return'd other Gifts, and Abundance of Provisions, and dismiss'd him, with a Letter to the Governour. Queen *Dongue* of *Cauripa*, testify'd to *Esquivel* no less Satisfaction, and Inclination to be united to the King of *Spain* by Vassalage.

Message from Esquivel to the Heathen Kings of Bool, and Totoli.

The Garrisons of the Rebellious Towns were assaulted by the *Spaniards*, and compell'd to submit. The King of *Tydore* made Havock on the Coast of *Batochina*, or *Gilolo*, where he recover'd for his Majesty, and for himself, the Towns and Forts that had been taken from him by the King of *Ternate*. He plunder'd the great Town of *Mira*, in *Moratay*, and made Captives of many that oppos'd him, who had also been Christians. Among the rest he took a *Guimala*, which signifies, a Chief, or Head of a Quarter, or Ward, whom he again set at Liberty, at the Request of our Men, sending him away with two other *Guimalas*, in the Company of Captain *John de la Torre*. The Islands in thole Parts were reducing by Degrees, with little Opposition. Those of the *Meaos*, lying to the North-West, towards *Manila*, being among, and full of large Towns, defended themselves, with the Assistance, and Industry of the *Dutch*; but *B. Antony Flores*, a Lay-Brother, of the Order of *S. Augustin*, who fought against the *Sangleyes* of *Manila*, as has been said above, coming thither with the Galleys, they submitted. The Ensign *Lewis de Zuazo* arriv'd after the Business was over, and they being now successful, and understanding that the *Dutch* Ship was sail'd from *Gilolo*, made after her. She was so good a Sailer, that they labour'd in vain; but carry'd on the War at *Gilolo* and *Sabuhu*, which made the *Ternate* Governours put up their Complaints, and lay aside their Designs. They writ to the Governour, and he answer'd them, sending a Copy of the Articles, upon which they offer'd to repair to *Ternate*, in peaceable Manner. All our Commanders were dispers'd in several

King of Tydore's Actions.

Meaos Islands subdu'd.

Reduction of other Islands.

ral Places, reducing the Islands of the *Moluccos* that had Rebell'd, either by Force of Arms, or other Methods; and particularly those belonging to the *Sultan of Ternate*, which are few under an hundred; and thus Peace began to be establish'd, which if not Wish'd for, was at least Tolerated, and accepted of with such Appearances as are becoming to make it honourable.

The King
and Mo-
lucco
Prisoners
attempt to
escape.

Whilst the *Molucco* Islands submitted by Force to receive the Yoke, the Governour, *Don Pedro de Acunna*, was sailing for *Manila*. Captain *Villagra* was at a Distance from the Fleet, with the King, Prince, and *Sangiacks* that were Prisoners, aboard the Admiral Galley. This made them form a Design to attempt to make their Escape to *Mindanao*, and they had succeeded, if not prevented by the Soldiers that guarded them. Captain *Villagra* either Suspected, or had Information of it, and therefore doubled the Guards, and put eight of the most daring into Chains. Among the most remarkable were *Cachil Amuxa*, the *Sangiack Rete*, and he of *Mofaquin*. They all arriv'd at *Manila*, but their Fetters were taken off before they came thither, after they had worn them ten Days, with much Regret of the King, whom they satisfy'd with Hopes, and acquainting him with some of the Grounds there were to suspect, till the Danger of laying them aside ceas'd. The Hazard at *Mindanao* was, that those Islands are not Tributary, yet they value themselves upon entertaining Friendship with the King of *Ternate*; and it is most certain, that had he attempted to fly, and succeeded in it, they would have supported him there; and *Villagra* had Intelligence given him, that the King either made, or approv'd of the Proposal; tho' there was no want of Care and Vigilancy either in *Don Pedro's* Ship, or the Admiral Galley.

Don Pedro
de Acunna
suppos'd to
be poison'd.

During all this Time we have spoken of, the News of our Success was not brought to the *Philippine* Islands. This long Silence, and Want of Intelligence, became an Argument in those Parts, and particularly at *Manila*, that *Don Pedro* and the Fleet were lost, or at least had met with such ill Success as deserv'd to be generally lamented. Virtue never fail'd of envious Persons to persecute it, and accordingly *Don Pedro* was not without them at *Manila*; but tho' they were well known, in so much that in the general Opinion of all Men, they are suppos'd to have given the Poison, whereof that great Man was thought to have dy'd 22 Days after his Return, we will nevertheless suppress their Names, since it is not the Part of an Author, whose Duty it is to observe an exact Neutrality, and not to be led any Way by Affection, to confirm that Deposition, which, as yet, is no better grounded than on Suspicion. They are all Dead long since, and have been try'd before that great Tribunal, where the least thought cannot pass without being accounted for. These Men gave out, That *Don Pedro* attacking *Ternate*, enter'd it successfully; but that his Men had been too intent upon Plunder, the Enemy rallied, and falling upon the *Spaniards*, beat them out again, killing most of them. And that the General being ashamed of his ill Conduct, durst not return to *Manila*.

False Re-
ports a-
broad.

Indians be-
gin to Mu-
tiny.

This Report being spread abroad among the *Indians*, did so much Harm, that they began to Mutiny, especially in the Provinces of *Camarines*, and *Pintados*; in so much that the Fryers who attended their Instruction, could not deal with them any longer, for they said, That since the People

of

of the *Moluccos* were victorious, why should they be still subject to the *Spaniards*, who did not defend them against the *Moors*, and these would now plunder them daily with the Assistance of *Ternate*, and it would be worse for the Future. Nor were they satisfy'd with muttering, but proceeded to confer Notes together, and to contrive putting their Projects in Execution. But all this vanish'd at the Sight of Truth, and the News of it, brought in before the Arrival of the Conquerors, and the Preparations they saw made for their Reception, and triumphant Rejoycings. The Weather was seasonable, and favour'd them in all Respects, and they arriv'd at *Manila* on the ninth of *June*, loaded with Honour and Victory, after they had rested in the Port of *Cabite*, two Leagues distant.

The Captives diverted themselves with our Men, to put off the Remembrance of past Times, whilst rich Gariments of several Sorts of Silks were provided for them at the publick Charge, which is the King's Treasury in the *Philippine* Islands. They look'd dejectedly, and with Admiration, on the Harbour, Walls, Forts, and Buildings of the City, the Sight whereof made them call to Mind the last Day on which they fell from their boasted State of Liberty. Our Commanders dropt some courteous Words of Comfort in their Discourse, telling them, that as soon as the News could come to *Spain* of their being reduc'd, and that good Order was taken against falling again into the former Dangers, the King would order them to be restor'd to their Liberty. All these Expressions were not of Force to satisfy those *Indians*, who on the contrary began to complain of the General, because they either suspected, or were told by some of our Men, that he would not observe the safe Conduct, and promise he had made them in the King's Name, and on which they had rely'd; and that in Case *Sultan Zayde* were continu'd in the *Philippine* Islands, it was certain they would send his Son, Prince *Gariolano* into *Europe*, by the Way of *New Spain*. The general being acquainted with these melancholly Reflections of theirs, thought it concern'd the Reputation of the Christian Religion in general, and of the *Spanish* Nation in particular, to dispell those Jealousies, and therefore he writ to them, and directed the Captain, who carry'd the Letters, to perswade the King not to conceive the least Mistrust of the King's Word, and Security he had confided in. This compos'd their Thoughts, and they either did, or pretended to take Comfort.

*Prisoners
disconsolate.*

The Prisoners came with the Forces to the City, which the Fleet saluted with its Cannon, and were answer'd by the Artillery and small Shot from the Walls and Forts. The King landed in a Garden the Governour had without the Walls, where he repos'd himself that Night, and when Lodgings were provided for him, with the greatest State that could be, and answerably for other Prisoners, according to their Qualities, *Don Pedro* enter'd *Manila* with the Forces, and Ostentation of Captives and Booty. There wanted not Triumphal Arches, with such Inscriptions as are Generally set on them in Honour of Conquerors. The Habit of the Prisoners, in rich Mantles, Turbants and Plumes, was not sutable to their Fortune; as making their Countenances look more haughty, and representing Arrogancy. That King was strong body'd, and his Limbs well Knit; his Neck, and great Part of his Arms he wore naked; his Skin being of the Colour of a Cloud, rather inclin'd to Black than Tawny. The Features of his Face were like

Don Pedro's Entry into Manila.

Description of the King of Ternate.

an

an *European*. His Eyes large, full, and sparkling, to which they add the Fierceness of long Eyebrows, thick Beards and Whiskers, and lank Hair. He always wore his *Campilane*, or Cimiter, and *Criz*, or Dagger; the Hilt of them both resembling the Heads of Snakes gilt. This is affirm'd by Officers that attended, and convers'd with him familiarly, to whom he was obligingly Courteous, and it appears by Relations, and by the Picture drawn to the Life, which the General sent into *Spain* for the King.

Rejoycings: The Rejoycings for the Victory were continu'd with much Solemnity, the *Indians*, who were the principal Subject of them, being present. The King of *Ternate* understanding that Messengers were sending away to *Spain* to carry the News of the Success, and Account of the Prisoners, writ a short Letter to the King, intermixt with Commendations of *Don Pedro de Acunna* and some other *Spanish* Commanders. He represented the change of his Condition, with somewhat of Submission, but not Humility, or rather Meanness; and intreated his Majesty to extend his Royal Goodness towards the Conquer'd, for his own Magnanimity's sake, and on Account of the perpetual Fidelity, and Vassalage they had sworn to him. This Letter was writ by another Hand, and in *Spanish*. When it was given him to sign, the King turn'd the upside down, and Writ his Name on the white half Page in *Persian* Characters, thinking he had sign'd at the Beginning, or Top of the Letter, as is practis'd by the Princes of those Countries. The *Moluccos* being Reduc'd, our Ministers and Preachers went over thither, and the Voice of the Gospel resounded again in the utmost Borders of the Earth.

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